



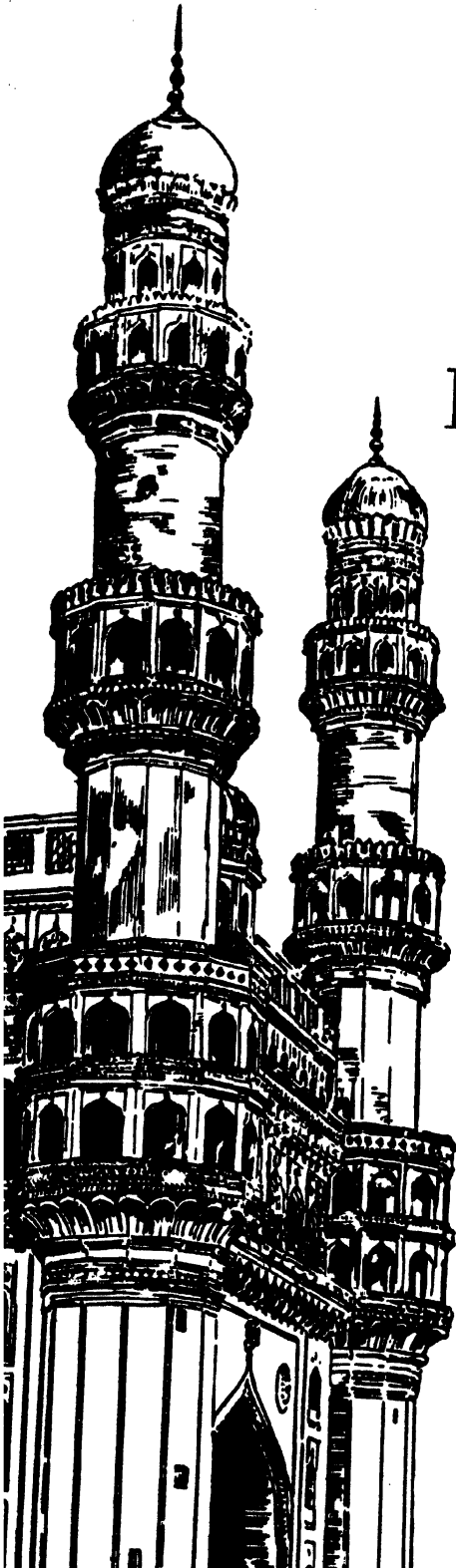
[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.]

ISLAMIC CULTURE

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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE

Being a treatise of Muslim Public International Law, consisting of the laws of war, peace and neutrality together with precedents from Orthodox Practice.

PREFACE

THERE was no *international* law in Europe before 1856. What passed as such was admittedly a mere public law of *Christian nations*. It was in 1856 that for the first time a non-Christian nation, Turkey, was considered fit to benefit from the European Public Law of Nations, and this was the true beginning of internationalising the public law of Christian nations. That, however, does not mean that international law, with its modern connotation, was born then and there ; it already existed elsewhere. For, Islam had recognised that all states, irrespective of religion or race, have similar rights and obligations. Unlike any other nation of antiquity, the public law of nations evolved by Muslims was *not* meant to regulate the conduct of a Muslim state with regard to Muslim states alone, excluding all the non-Muslim world.

Even as a separate and independent science, "international law" owes its origin to Arab Muslims of the Umayyad period, who divorced it from political science and law general though not displacing it from its ethical basis.

With the loss of their empires, average Muslims have forgotten their rich cultural heritage. Over a decade ago, when I began writing these pages, I had not the slightest idea that, to write on Muslim international law meant describing the very first phase of this science after it became a self-contained and independent branch of learning.

At the instance of the League of Nations and with the warm support of the Head of the Law Faculty of the Osmania University, Public International Law was introduced in the Osmania LL.B. curriculum, and I happened to be in the first batch of students after this decision. It struck me at once that what was taught us as international law was identical in many respects with the teachings of the books of *Fiqh* and Muslim History. When I talked this over with our learned Professor and Head of the

Faculty, Ḥusain 'Alī Mirzā, he encouraged me in the idea of writing an article, perhaps to be read in the Law Students' Union.

The bulk of the article, however, daily increased, and in the following year I was permitted to take the same theme for subject as a research scholar. After exhausting the material available in the libraries of Hyderabad, I was allowed to proceed abroad to study in the libraries of Hijāz, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Turkey. And finally I was permitted kindly by the Osmania University, for which I was preparing the thesis, to proceed to Bonn and submit the same thesis there for a doctorate. This I did in August 1933 after completing only two terms (9 months) in that University. There I selected only the last part of the work, dealing with neutrality, to print and get the degree. My further studies on an allied subject, Early Muslim Diplomacy, for a doctorate of the University of Paris, together with researches in the manuscript libraries of Europe and North Africa, increased my data.

I am not yet satisfied with what I have jotted down, and it is with great diffidence that I venture to publish these few pages.

I take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to the professors under whom I worked or from whom I have profited in the preparation of this monograph :

Prof. 'Abdul-Wāsi', Head of the Department of Fiqh, Osmania University.

Prof. Shēr 'Alī, Head of the Department of Kalām and Muslim Philosophy, Osmania University.

Prof. Muḥammad 'Abdul-Qadīr Ṣiddīqī, Head of the Faculty of Theology, Osmania University.

Prof. Ḥusain 'Alī Mirzā, Head of the Faculty of Law, Osmania University.

Prof. Mīr Siyādat 'Alī Khān of the Law Faculty, Osmania University.

These five savants, the first two of whom have since departed this life, were originally appointed to guide me in my researches. Again :

Prof. Sālim Fritz Krenkow of the Oriental Seminar, Bonn.

Prof. Paul Khale, Director of Oriental Seminar, Bonn.

Prof. Thoma, Director of the Institute of International Law and Politics, Bonn.

Prof. Snouck-Hurgronje of Leiden.

Prof. Gaudefroy-Demombynes of the Sorbonne, Paris.

Prof. Louis Massignon of the Collège de France, Paris.

Prof. William Marçais of the Collège de France, Paris.

And I ever remember what I learned from them with gratitude.

ideal which has never been achieved, even for a short term, in the long annals of Man.

We have, however, recognised in our definition that not only laws and customs of the land, but even treaties, impose obligations upon a Muslim State. Treaties will be dealt with later, but what is *law*?

Law (*Fiqh*) is variously defined by classical Muslim jurisconsults. "The Knowledge of what is *for* and *upon* one" (معرفة النفس ما لها وما عليها) is a definition attributed to Abū-Hanīfah,¹ which in other words may be rendered as 'the science of the rights and obligations of man.' A late authority, Muhibbullāh al-Bihārīy, introduces this all-embracing subject in the following words² of his book (compiled 1109 H.):—

The science of ascertaining religious commands (regarding practical affairs of life) by means of their detailed *guides*. (By *guides* he means authority or source of information).

A glance at the contents of works on *Fiqh* would reveal that they embrace practically all the affairs of human life, material as well as spiritual. In view of the standard definitions given above and in the face of the contents of works on *Fiqh*, there remains not the slightest doubt that international law, *i.e.*, the rules of state-conduct in times of war, peace and neutrality, form part of the ordinary law of the land, the *Fiqh*. These rules of conduct are generally dealt with in books on *Fiqh* under the heading *Siyar* (سير), *i.e.*, *conduct*, as we shall show in the next chapter.

Here a brief exposé of the origin of law according to Muslim jurists might profitably be added. They³ say that man must always do what is *good* and abstain from what is *evil* and take scrupulous care of the intermediary grades of *plausible*, *permissible* and *disliked* (مكروه، مباح، مستحب). It is, however, not easy to distinguish between *good* and *evil*, especially when the matter concerns the subtleties of a complex civilized life beyond the pale of ordinary commonplace things. Practical needs would have required the possession of the power to legislate,—(or, lay down definitely grades of good and evil of each and every matter) in the hands of Man, either individual, as jurisconsult, or collectively organised, *i.e.*, a State. Yet mere reason, regarded as the touchstone of good and evil, is not without grave difficulties. For it is possible, and also a matter of fact—so argue Muslim jurists—that different persons opine differently regarding the same things. The belief in Messengers of God is useful even from the

1. شرح التوضيح لمن التوضيح by Ṣadrush-Sharī'ah, p. 9.

2. مسلم الثبوت, p. 5.

3. E. g. (أصول الفقه) by at-Taftāzānīy, pp. 173-96 and any book on Muslim Jurisprudence (أصول الفقه) ch. *Husn wa Qubh*. Again, Ostrorog, *Angora Reform*, ch. *Roots of Law*; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York).

point of view of jurisprudence, in so far as the awe and respect due to their persons lead to the acceptance of certain fundamentals without further dispute, wherefrom other and further details may be elaborated. For this reason the Muslim savants are very thankful to the generosity of God that He gave men, along with *reason*, certain chosen *human Guides* to help them in the conduct of life. These selected and chosen ones pointed out what God commanded, God the real Sovereign and Lawgiver, regarding good and evil. Muḥammad has been acknowledged by the Muslims as the Messenger of God, and whatever he gave them in his lifetime, commands as well as injunctions, in the name of his Sender, God, was accepted by the Muslims as undisputably final and most reasonable. These Divine Commands, known as the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth—as we shall see later in detail—served practically all the needs of the Muslim community of that time. But human needs multiplied later in such a manner that no express provision seemed to be available in either the word or the deed of the Messenger, who himself had passed away, disconnecting the link whereby Man could receive Commands from his Lord. The consequent result would have been fatal and the fabric of *Fiqh* would soon have collapsed under the strain, had not there been express provisions in the law itself for further elaboration. Credit must also not fail to be given the Muslim jurists, after the death of the Prophet, who not only discerned this elasticity of the Divine Law, but also utilised it to its fullest extent. In time there emerged a complete system of law which served all the purposes of the Imperial Muslims, even at the height of their widest expansion from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans.

Thus law originated from the direct Commands of God ; but the power retained by man to interpret and expand Divine Commands, by means of analogical deductions, and other processes, provided all that was required by the Muslims. In this way a dual need was served : that of sanctity to inspire awe in the mind of those who were intended to observe it, and that of elasticity or capability of development to meet the needs of times and circumstances.

We have defined international law, first, as a part of the law of the land. The province of the law of the land is therefore, obviously, wider than that of international law, and we have no concern here with the portion of the law of the land which regulates internal affairs of the State or its subjects.

We have also acknowledged *custom* as contributing to international law. No system of law can positively provide guidance regarding every detail of every matter. Completion of a list of prohibited things, along with details of a certain number of permitted matters,—that is all any system of law can achieve. Naturally the prevalent customs (عرف), general practice (عادة), and even innovations hardening in time into usage (عموم البلوى), regulate the relations in such cases. We shall discuss this further in the chapter on Sources of Muslim Law.

Besides the laws and customs of the land, treaties between two or more states, create obligations. This distinct kind of addition to the fabric of the law is tolerated, for shorter or longer periods, in the interests of the State. The classical Treaty of Hudaibiyah provides us with a precedent of terms even improper in themselves being capable of acceptance with a broader view of the ultimate good of the community.

Further, the distinction between a *de jure* and a *de facto* state is necessary, first because sometimes special institutions or happenings (for instance a powerful rebellion) although not acknowledged as States *de jure* are yet states *de facto*. It is possible in special cases that a certain state does not simultaneously possess both the attributes of being *de jure* as well as *de facto*. Secondly, the aim of this distinction is to point out that we are concerned with foreign states as such, and not with foreigners resident in Muslim territory regarding their private affairs, e.g., inheritance, nationality and the like. These belong to Private International Law or the Conflict of Laws as it is also called. In this connection, too, it might be recollected that the Private International Law of Islam¹ is also a part of *Fiqh*, and derives its authority not from any foreign source but from the sovereign will of the Muslim State itself.

In our definition the words "dealings with other...States" have a special significance. We intend thereby to convey the idea that Muslim International Law is only that which is observed by a state which acknowledges Muslim law as the law of its land in its dealings with other states. These other states may be Muslim or non-Muslim. We are not concerned with the laws and usages of non-Muslim States, except in so far as the Muslim residents there are concerned, or in so far as those laws and usages have been accepted by the Muslim State to act upon in its international intercourse.

It may be added that, for purposes of illustration, precedents from orthodox practice have freely been referred to. Abnormal and temporary abuse or overlooking of certain rules by a certain state cannot render such rules null and void.

CHAPTER II

Early Terminology

ALTHOUGH the pre-Islamic Arabs had their own international usages, yet they could not have elaborated them into a system. When Islam came and founded a *State* of its own, the earliest name given by Muslim writers

1. On Muslim Private International Law, see the recent monograph, *La Conception et la Pratique du Droit International Privé dans l' Islam*, étude juridique et historique, par Choucri Cardahi (Recueil des Cours, 1937, II, pp. 510-650, Académie de Droit International, the Hague).

to the special branch of law dealing with war, peace and neutrality, seems to have been *Siyar* (سير), the plural form of *Sīrat* (سيرة), meaning conduct and behaviour. A few quotations will support my contention :—

a. Ibn Hishām (d. 218 H.) (سيرة رسول الله, p. 992):

Then the Prophet ordered Bilāl to hand over the banner to him. He did so. Then the Prophet eulogised God and asked for His mercy upon himself, then said : O son of 'Awf ! Take it. Fight ye all in the path of God and combat those who do not believe in God. Yet never commit breach of trust nor treachery nor mutilate anybody nor kill any minor or woman. This is the pact of God and the *behaviour of His Messenger* for your guidance.

ثم أمر بلالاً أن يدفع إليه اللواء فدفعه إليه . فحمد الله و صلى على نفسه . ثم قال : خذوه يا ابن عوف ، اغزوا جميعا في سبيل الله فقاتلوا من كفر بالله . ولا تغلوا ولا تغدروا ولا تمثلوا ولا تقتلوا وليداً ولا امرأة . فهذا عهد الله وسيرة نبيه فيكم

b. Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245 H.) in his كتاب الحبر, fol. 95a:

They used to give public feasts there and *behaved there according to the behaviour of the kings of Dūmatul-Jandal*.

وكانوا يصنعون فيها ويسيرون فيها بسيرة الملوك بدومة الجندل .

c. Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 H.) in his طبقات vol. 1/2, pp. 32-33 :

The Muslim army shall concede to them a share in the booty, adroitness in government and moderation in *behaviour*. This is a decision which neither of the contracting parties may change.

ولهم على جند المسلمين الشركة في الفئى والعدل في الحكم والقصد في السيرة . حكم لا تبديل له في الفريقين كليهما .

These few citations show that the conduct of the ruler, not only in time of war but also in peace, was referred to by the term *sīrat* as early as the time of the Prophet and even in pre-Islamic times. This is according to authors of early in the third century of Hijrah. The term was adopted for "International Law" at least a century earlier. Thus Abū-Ḥanīfah (d. 150 H.) is known so far to be the first¹ to designate with the term *siyar* the set of special lectures he delivered on the Muslim Laws of War and Peace. These lectures were edited and ameliorated by several of his pupils of which the كتاب السير الصغير and كتاب السير الكبير of Ash-Shaibānīy (d. 189 H.) have, in one form or other, come down to us. A contemporary of Abū-Ḥanīfah, the Syrian Imām al-Awzā'iy (d. 157 H.)

1. Cf. Editor's note in الرد على سيراو زاعى by Abū-Yūsuf, recently published.

criticised the opinions of the 'Irāqī Imām, Abū-Ḥanīfah. Al-Awzā'īy's monograph has not come down to us, but a rejoinder to it by Abū-Yūsuf (d. 192 H.), the famous pupil of Abū-Ḥanīfah, with the title, الرد على سيرا لأوزاعي, has recently been edited. Ash-Shāfi'īy (born 150 H.), also refers to this Siyar of al-Awzā'īy in his works (cf. كتاب الأم vol. vii, pp. 303-336), as also to the Siyar of al-Wāqidīy (d. 207 H.). Henceforward the word seems to have become a technical term commonly used by jurists of all times. A typical passage of as-Sarakhsīy (d. 483 H.) will show what he understood by this term, and in fact what Islamic books of international law contained :—

“Know that the word *Siyar* is the plural form of *Sīrat*. We have designated this chapter by it since it describes the *behaviour of the Muslims* in dealing with the Associators (non-Muslims) from among the belligerents as well as those of them who have made a pact (with Muslims) [and live as Resident Aliens or non-Muslim Subjects]; in dealing with Apostates who are the worst of the infidels since, they abjure after acknowledgement (of Islam), and in dealing with Rebels whose position is less (reprehensible) than that of the Associators, although they be ignorant and in their contention on false ground.”¹

It must, however be pointed out that the term *Sīrat* was used by historians to designate the life of the Prophet. The analogy has been brought into relief by different authors. Raḍīy-ud-Dīn as-Sarakhsīy, for instance, states in his chapter on international law : “The word *Sīrat*, when used without adjectives, meant the conduct of the Prophet more especially in his wars. And for this the Prophet has said : ‘Every prophet had some profession (for livelihood), and my profession is *Jihād* ; and in fact my means of subsistence are placed under the shadow of my spear.’ ”² In other words, the term *sīrat*³ which linguistically signified

اعلم أن السير جمع سيرة . و به سمي
هذا الكتاب لأنه بين فيه سيرة المسلمين
في المعاملة مع المشركين من أهل الحرب
و مع أهل العهد منهم من المستأمنين و
أهل الذمة و مع المرتدين الذين هم
أحبث الكفار بالانكار بعد الاقرار ، و مع
أهل البغي الذين حالهم دون حال
المشركين و إن كانوا جاهلين و في
التأويل مبطلين .

1. *المبسوط* by as-Sarakhsīy, Vol. X, p. 2.

2. *المحيط* by Raḍīy-ud-Dīn as-Sarakhsīy, Vol. I, fol. 567a, b (MS. Waliuddin, Istanbul, No. 1356) :
في عرف الثمر متى اطلق يراد به طريقة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في معازيه على الخصوص و لهذا قال عليه
الصلاة والسلام : لكل نبي حرفة و حرفة الجهاد و انما رزقي تحت ظل رمحي .

3. For a philological discussion of the term see also the glossary of my *الوثائق السياسية على عهد النبي* (Cairo, 1940-1).

conduct in general, acquired later the restricted sense of the conduct of the Prophet in his wars, and later still the conduct of Muslim rulers in general in international affairs.

CHAPTER III

Subjects of Muslim International Law

BY subject (موضوع), Muslim jurists understand a thing the essential appurtenances (عوارض ذاتية) of which are under discussion.¹ By subjects of international law, we understand the categories of people regarding whose cases this part of the law is applied. They comprise :

Firstly, every Independent State which has some relation or other with other states.

Secondly, Part-Sovereign States which possess at least a limited right to foreign relations.

Thirdly, Belligerent Rebels who have acquired resisting power (منعة) and a territory over which they exercise the ordinary functions of a state.

Fourthly, Highwaymen and Pirates.

Fifthly, Resident Aliens in Islamic territory.

Sixthly, Muslim Citizens residing in foreign countries.

Seventhly, Apostates.

Eighthly, Privileged non-Muslims (أهل الذمة) or the *Dhimmīs*, that is, non-Muslim Subjects of a Muslim State as distinguished from ordinary Resident Aliens.

Obviously, with some of these relations both pacific as well as hostile are possible. While with others only one of these is possible. For instance, rebellion is possible only with hostile relations as far as the mother country is concerned. And as soon as a peace is concluded between the rebels and their mother country, they are either recognised as an independent state—and not mere rebels—or are reduced to the position of obedient citizens of the state, regarding whom international law is no more applicable. As far as states other than the mother country of the rebels are concerned, the rebel ones enjoy the same status as ordinary states, yet the very recognition of rebellion and concession of belligerent rights signifies a state of war between the rebels and their country. However, we shall deal with it in detail in a subsequent chapter.

1. شرح التوضيح, p. 21.

CHAPTER IV

The Object and Aim of International Law

ALTHOUGH Islam regards the life of this world as only a transitory stage, a period in which to till the soil for reaping in the Hereafter,—hence the assertion of al-Bihārī¹ that the object of the knowledge of Muslim law is well-being in the eternal next world,—yet unlike many other religions, Islam does not recommend renunciation of the world, but rather enjoying to the full the blessings of temporal life. The Qur'ān says :—

There are some men who say, O Lord give us good in this world ; but such shall have no portion in the next world. And there are others who say, O Lord, give us *good in this world and also good in the next world*, and deliver us from the torment of the Fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained : God is swift in taking an account.²

And again :

But seek the abode of the Hereafter in that which God hath given thee and *neglect not thy portion of this world*, and be thou kind even as God hath been kind to thee, and seek not corruption in the earth. Lo ! God loveth not corrupters.³

It goes without saying that the whole fabric of Muslim law was constructed for guiding the Faithful in regulating their life in this world. Whatever its ultimate object, its temporal and mundane aim is the ability to lead one's life in the fairest possible way. *Mutatis mutandis*, Muslim International Law would aim at the justest possible conduct of the Muslim ruler in his international intercourse.

CHAPTER V

Its Sanction

TO a certain extent the sanction of Muslim International Law is the same as that of the ordinary Muslim law of the land. It is especially so as regards the relations of foreign residents with the state in which they reside. The government, through its judicial tribunals, administers justice to those to whom wrong is done. As is known, the real sanction of Muslim

1. مسلم الأوث , p. 10.

2. Qur'ān, 2 : 200-02.

3. *Idem*, 28 : 77.

law is not the organised will of the sovereign (who may enjoin tyranny), but the belief in the after-life and judgement by God. Spiritual and conscientious inducing and deterring factors are more effective than temporal persuasions and prohibitions. For, thus one abides by the law, not only under coercion, but even when there is none to oppose one's will, except, perhaps, the fear of retaliation or scandal and disrepute.

CHAPTER VI

Its Roots and Sources

BY "sources" of a science we mean here the places where its rules are first to be found. Writers on Muslim jurisprudence have always used the expressive term "Roots" (أصول) from which rules shoot for this purpose. We do not mean the beginning of these rules clad in all authority required to give them binding power. Otherwise the only possible source of international law would be the acceptance of a rule by a government to use in international relations. We shall consider in this connection the following :—

1. The Qur'ān.
2. The *Sunnah* or the traditions of the Prophet.
3. The Orthodox Practice of the early Caliphs.
4. The Practice of other Muslim rulers not repudiated by the jurisconsults.
5. The Opinions of celebrated Muslim jurists :
 - (a) consensus of opinion (إجماع),
 - (b) individual opinions (قياس).
6. The Arbitral Awards.
7. The Treaties.
8. The Official Instructions to commanders, admirals, ambassadors, and other state officials.
9. The Internal Legislation for conduct regarding foreigners and foreign relations.
10. The Custom and Usage.

1. *The Qur'ān.*

The Qur'ān is admitted by the Muslims as the Word of God and therefore the basis of all their law. It is in fact a collection of Divine Revelations—more precisely, the selected compilation of the so-called "recited revelation" (وحي متلو)¹ reaching Muḥammad through the agency

1. According to the Qur'ān (cf. 53 : 3-4) whatever the Prophet uttered was based on divine revelation, yet not all that he uttered was ordered by him to be recited in religious services. Hence the distinction between recited and unrecited revelations.

of the angel Gabriel. The Qur'ān was not revealed as a whole, but came down in fragments, as necessity arose, during the prophetic career of Muḥammad, which lasted for about twenty-three years. Whenever a portion of the Qur'ān was revealed to him, he used to order one of his amanuenses to take it down. It was also he who prescribed and pointed out the place or places to which the verse or verses properly belonged:¹ the verses of the Qur'ān were not compiled in chronological order. Obviously they were not written in the time of the Prophet in book form, but on stray leaves of paper, shoulder blades, date leaves, and other handy material.² It is further admitted that when some revealed verses were cancelled, naturally on the authority of the Prophet alone, they were omitted and obliterated.³ As a rule, the companions of the Prophet used to commit to memory as much of the revealed verses as they wished or were able to remember, and also made written copies for themselves. Even as early as the first years of Muḥammad's prophethood, there were extant in Mecca private copies of portions of the then revealed Qur'ān.⁴ This continued up to the very death of the Prophet, when besides the above-mentioned documentary material, there were at least four persons who had committed the whole Qur'ān to memory.⁵ The number of those who committed the whole 114 chapters of the Qur'ān to memory (the *hāfiẓes*) increased rapidly,⁶ as this brought worldly gain, public honour and official dignities.⁷ The *hāfiẓes* (reciters from memory) and *qārīs* (reciters reading artistically) up to this day give certificates to their pupils recording that they had heard the Qur'ān in the very order of verses and chapters, and also the chant and intonation, which they transmitted to their pupils, from their teachers, and they from their teachers,—all named, —linking the chain back to the Prophet himself.

The first successor of the Prophet, the Caliph Abū-Bakr, in spite of his all too short term of office (about two years only), arranged that a fair-copy of the whole text of the Qur'ān should be made in the form of a book (*muṣḥaf*); the order of the verses was to remain as prescribed by the Prophet. The commission entrusted with the work required two

1. *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 69; again, at-Tirmidhiy, an-Nasa'iy, etc., as quoted by *Kanz al-'Ummāl* Vol. I, No. 4778.

2. *Kanzul 'Ummāl* (I, 4759) quoting al-Bukhārīy, at-Tirmidhiy, an Nasa'iy, Ibn Sa'd and others.

3. Cf. Ibn Hishām, pp. 1014-15; *Kashful-Asrār* of 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Bukhārīy (Comment. of Pazdawīy) Vol. III, p. 188: *وقال الحسن رحمه الله: ان نبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اوتي قرأنا ثم نسيه فلم يكن شيئا أولم يبق منه شيء لا رفع الله تعالى عن قلبه ذلك (وكان هذا جائزا في القرآن في حيوة النبي عليه السلام).*

4. Ibn Hishām (*سيرة رسول الله*) p. 226—Ibn Sa'd, 3/1, p. 192.

5. Ibn Sa'd, 2/1, pp. 112-13; Bukhārīy, Ch. *Faḍā'ilul-Qur'ān*, § *Qurra'*.

6. Alone in one detachment of Caliph 'Umar, they numbered once three hundred (cf. *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4030).

7. E. g., cf. *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4030, on the authority of Ibn Zanjūh.

authentic written copies¹ of the fragment dealt with, besides having to tally with what was memorised by the *ḥāfiẓes*. The task was duly brought to a successful end ; only regarding one or perhaps two small passages no more than one written evidence was found.²

This unique copy of the official edition remained with the Caliph ; later his successor, the Caliph 'Umar, used it, after whose murder, it was in the custody of his daughter,³ Ḥafṣah, the widow of the Prophet. It was in the time of the third Caliph, 'Uthmān, that difficulties began to arise in the provinces. The Caliph, therefore, ordered seven copies to be made from the official edition prepared for the first Caliph, and these copies were sent to different provincial capitals of the Empire, the original being returned to Ḥafṣah. The Caliph 'Uthmān gave orders that even the spelling⁴ of the official copies must be followed, and that all those private copies that were found to differ from the official edition had to be collected and destroyed.⁵ What we now possess is the publication of the Caliph 'Uthmān just referred to.

Bibliography: Prof. Muftī 'Abdul-Laṭīf, تاریخ القرآن—Aslam Jairājpurī,

تاریخ القرآن — Nawāb 'Alīy, تاریخ صحف ساوی — Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, 2 vols.

2. The Sunnah.

The second source of Muslim International Law, in order as well as importance, is the *Sunnah* or the *ḥadīth* which comprises what the Prophet said, did, or tolerated. In quantity, the rules of Muslim International Law found in the traditions of the Prophet far surpass those in the Qur'ān. In quality, the *ḥadīth* is considered inferior to the Qur'ān, yet this seems to be in view of the difficulty of proving the genuineness of a tradition. Otherwise the Qur'ān itself has expressly and unequivocally put the word of the Prophet on a par with the Qur'ān,⁶ on the basis that what the Messenger uttered on behalf of the Sender is taken at the Sender's word.

The compilation of the traditions of the Prophet was begun in his own lifetime by his companions, this besides many official documents such as treaties, instructions to tax-collectors, letters, charters, census reports⁷ and the like.⁸ The thousands of traditions taken down by the

1. Ibn Sa'd, quoted by *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4764. cf. Bukhāriy, ch. Faḍā'ilul-Qur'ān, § Jam'ul-Qur'ān.

2. Bukhāriy, *ibidem*, also 93 : 37, 75 : 33 (3); Ibn Sa'd quoted by *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4772, 4801, 4802.

3. Bukhāriy, 66 : 3, 93 : 37.

4. Qaṣṭallānīy, عمدة القاری شرح صحیح البخاری, I, 406.

5. Bukhāriy, 66 : 3,—*Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4799.

6. Cf. Qur'ān, 53 : 3-4, 33 : 21, 59 : 7, etc.

7. Bukhāriy, 56 : 181, No. 1.

8. Cf. الوثائق السياسية, and also my *Corpus des Traités et Lettres diplomatiques de l'Islam*.

companions, and still more orally transmitted to their pupils (who, or their pupils, wrote them down), have an interesting history of their own. Modern scholars believed for long that the compilation of ḥadīth in written form began two hundred years after the Prophet's death. Many contemporary Muslim savants showed the baselessness of this allegation, such as al-Kattānīy, Shiblī, Sulaimān Nadwī, and only recently Prof. Manāẓir Aḥsan of the Osmania University, in an exhaustive manner, after which it is not necessary for me to discuss the subject any further except to remind my readers that the material on the life of the Prophet is to be found not merely in books on ḥadīth.

Bibliography: نظام الحكومة النبوية المسمى التراتيب الادارية، والعمالات والصناعات والتاجر والحالة العلمية التي كانت على عهد تأسيس المدينة الاسلامية في المدينة المنورة عليه

Vol. I, pp. 114-238 (في العمليات الكتابية وما يشبهها وما يضاف إليها) ;
Vol. II, pp. 168-446 (في تشخيص الحالة العلمية على العهد النبوي) . — Shiblī, خطبات مدراس، Vol. I, Introduction.—Sulaimān Nadwī, (i.e., *Madras Lectures*), 2nd ed., lecture 3 (also published in the monthly *Ma'ārif*, A'zamgarh, India, February 1926 and translated into English by the *Islamic Review*, Woking, England, some time later.—Manāẓir Aḥsan, تدوين حديث in the *Research Journal of the Osmania University* (مجموعة تحقيقات علمية), Vol. VII.—For the written documents of early times see also M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Documents sur la Diplomatie Musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Orthodoxes*, (Paris, 1935), Vol. 2, *Corpus des Traités et Lettres diplomatiques de l'Islam*.—*Idem*, الوثائق السياسية على العهد النبوي والخلافة الراشدة (Cairo 1940), comprising only the Arabic texts with many additions to the French *Corpus*.—al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādīy, تقييد العلم (MS. Berlin).

3. *Orthodox Practice.*

Just as the practice of the Prophet, so also that of his successors has attracted a variety of authors. It is to be found in books of ḥadīth, of history, of biography, of case law, of anthologies and other publications. No special and exclusive collections were ever made of the practice of either the Prophet or his Caliphs regarding international intercourse. Even if attempts have been made, they are not exhaustive.

It goes without saying that the precedents of the time of the Orthodox Caliphs may be accepted in addition to the traditions of the Prophet and not against them. It may, however, be observed that if a practice of the Orthodox Caliph is proved beyond dispute, and it goes against some

tradition of the Prophet, there will be strong reason to presume that the Orthodox Caliphs, who knew *ḥadīth* more thoroughly than any of the later jurists, acted on the authority of some other tradition of the Prophet, abrogating the one against which the practice in question is to be weighed. This is only theoretically possible, for I know no such concrete case.

In Muslim jurisprudence, the Companions of the Prophet, though never considered as infallible as the Prophet, enjoy considerable veneration. Their piety and their devotion to their Leader could never have induced them to violate deliberately the prescriptions of the Prophet; and if one, ignorant of the law, acted in some way contrary to it, others would at once have corrected him. This, however, does not exclude the difference of opinion between them regarding matters for which there was no provision in the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. In such cases preference is given according to the personal eminence of the conflicting authorities, the opinion of any of the first four Caliphs, for instance, prevailing over the opinion of other companions.

4. *Practice of Ordinary Muslim Rulers.*

The practice of the Orthodox Caliphs has legal authority. Not so the practice of other and later Muslim rulers. Still it might be useful to refer to it at times, especially when their practice has not been repudiated by the contemporary or later jurisconsults. Some of the Umayyads and Abbasids, Salāḥuddīn the Great (Saladin), Awrangzēb in India and many other Muslim rulers have left many a useful precedent the importance of which cannot be ignored.

The records of this, too, must be sought in a variety of sources. Its reliability must depend upon the reliability of the individual source. It must, however, not be overlooked that this category of authority for rules of international law is accepted on the condition that it does not contravene the Qur'ān or the *Sunnah* or Orthodox Practice.

5. *Opinion of Jurists.*

From the very beginning, Muslim writers on jurisprudence have divided *opinion* into two kinds of unequal importance, the *Ijmā'* (consensus) and *Qiyās* (individual analogical deduction).

(a) *Ijmā'*.

Various sayings of the Prophet are cited to bless this consensus of opinion, as for instance :

1. My people will never be unanimous in error. (لا يجتمع أمتي على الضلالة)

2. The hand of God is over the collectivity, and whoever quits it, is sent to hell. يدالله على الجماعة فمن شذ، شذ في النار (الترمذی)

3. What Muslims agree to be good is also good in the sight of God. مارأه المسلمون حسناً فهو عندالله حسن

And many more to the same effect. Even verses of the Qur'ān are quoted to support the same.

According to Islamic jurisprudence, whenever unanimity is reached among the Muslim jurists of a time, this consensus has the same validity as "a verse of the Qur'ān or the most reliably proved tradition of the Prophet ; and whoever denies its authority is to be considered an infidel."¹ The authors, however, agree in theory that a later consensus may abrogate a former.²

In spite of the importance of *Ijmā'*, it is curious that no institution of a permanent character was devised to ascertain it. Records abound that the Prophet always consulted³ his companions in legal as well as political matters. Again, the Caliph 'Umar seems to have found, in the pilgrimage to Mecca, an easy and convenient annual institution to consult the governors of his wide-stretched empire, to hold a general and all-empire appeal session of the supreme court, to meet deputations from far off parts of the realm, etc. For a generation or two after the Prophet, it seemed that the ascertainment of the best and most expedient opinion of the country was considered to be a government business. Soon, however, civil wars and schisms ensued, and the rulers contented themselves with the opinions of the official jurisconsults, the *personæ gratae* among them, and general consultation fell in desuetude. The consequent result was that private students and scholars of law cultivated the science, and the question of *Ijmā'* became a mere fiction, since there are no means of collating the data except private research into an imponderable and ever-increasing literature. Again, there are no sanctions to declare individual authors worthy of submitting their opinion for the decision of a case by a consensus, and obviously not every ordinary member of the Muslim community all over the world, now numbering by hundreds of millions, can have a say in any such matter.

Bibliography: كشف الأسرار على أصول الپزدوى لعبد العزيز البخارى : with text of and commentary on Pazdawī's work, Ch. إجماع, Vol. II, pp. 226-266.— توضيح التلويح by at-Taftāzānīy, *in loco*.— الرسالة by ash-Shāfi'iy, p. 65. Any and every book on Muslim jurisprudence (أصول الفقه), *in loco*.

1. كشف الأسرار على أصول الپزدوى للبخارى Vol. III, p. 261.

2. *Idem*, p. 262.

3. Cf. the Qur'ānic commands thereto, 3 : 159, 42 : 38, 47 : 21, etc.

(b) *Qiyās*.

Individual opinion of jurists and political scientists has had a very subtle division, according to its nature, in Muslim jurisprudence. Analogy, deduction, equity, *responsa prudentium*, judicial decisions, other opinions of individual authorities as expressed in their books or otherwise known—all have different technical names and different grades of precedence. I need not enter into a detailed discussion of them. I would rather classify the literature wholly or partly dealing with Muslim International Law. The more important classes are the following :—

- i. Works on *Siyar* or international law proper.
- ii. Works on *Fiqh* or compendia of law (*corpus juris*).
- iii. Works on *Fatāwī* and *aqḍiyah* or collections of judicial decisions, case law, *responsa prudentium* and the like.
- iv. Works on political science, sociology and allied subjects.
- v. Works on administrative law.
- vi. Works on *Naṣā'ih al-mulūk* or text-books for princes in the art of government and rulership.
- vii. Works on general or particular history, biography, political poetry and allied subjects.
- viii. Works on tactics and strategy.
- ix. Proceedings of Conferences.
- x. Modern works on Muslim International Law.

I need not discuss in detail each class of these works. A selection of the more important of them will be given in the bibliography, at the end of this monograph. However, I may mention that works on *Maghāzī* (battles of the time of the Prophet) have expressly been omitted from this classification, as they, as well as biographies in general of the Prophet, properly belong to the second source, i.e., *Sunnah*, discussed above.

During my studies, I have come to the conclusion that, although there is no dearth of works on political science and practical advice to princes in any civilisation of yore, which incidentally deal also with rules of international intercourse—books of Aristotle, Kautiliya's *Artha Sāstra*, political writings of Confucius, etc., illustrate the point—yet I found no trace of the divorce of international law from political science or law in general before the Arabs. As has been already mentioned, Abū-Ḥanīfah seems to have been first in the field and the *siyar* literature formed an independent branch of legal science. Books on law, even before Abū-Ḥanīfah, have been referred to, which we shall discuss presently ; but no monograph on international law (*siyar*) has to my knowledge been attributed to any jurist before Abū-Ḥanīfah.

It is perhaps not unnatural that every nation seems to pay attention first to legal literature. Codes or compendia of law seem to have come into existence in Islam in the very first century of Hījah. In any case the *كتاب المجموع* (or the *corpus [juris]*) attributed to Zaid-ibn-'Alīy (d. 122 H.)

has come down to us¹ and contains chapters on *siyar* or international law. So also the *Muwattā'* (الموطأ) of Mālik (d. 179 H.) has special chapters on our subject. Thenceforward, practically no Islamic *corpus juris* was devoid of chapters on international law, entitled variously *siyar*, *maghāzī* and *jihād*.

The same is true of works entitled *Fatāwī* or collections of cases, judicial decisions and *responsa prudentium*. One of the earliest of them is attributed to the Caliph 'Alīy, compiled by some of his pupils, though it has not come down to us. Originally such works came into existence either as collections of judicial decisions of individual judges,—one such is attributed to Ibn-Rushd also—or compilations of the replies of private jurisconsults. In later times, even compendia of law were given this name. The Mughal Emperor Awrangzēb 'Ālamgīr of India appointed a committee to codify Muslim law, and the result of their labour is known as *Fatāwī 'Ālamgīrīyah*,² and is still looked upon as great authority.

I may also refer in this connection to learned bodies and academies. Collective deliberations have naturally a greater chance of arriving at the proximity of reason and truth than individual labours. Islamic history has recorded, even in classical times, associations of savants, and they have had a very great influence over Muslim thought. I shall not discuss the famous *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, which, to me, was more a philosophical concern than juristic. I cannot, however, proceed without referring to the Law Academy founded by Abū-Ḥanīfah, which, though not as yet thoroughly studied, had very great influence on the codification and systematisation of Muslim law. It is said³ that there were forty members of it, all legists yet each having special qualifications. Some were philologists, others logicians, still others historians of orthodox times, to elucidate the precedents and their background, and so on.

This leads me to international Muslim conferences. I do not know of any instance in classical times of conferences for international law or even purely for law. Yet many social evils are traced to certain laws and conventions, and hence even social and political conferences should not be neglected in this connection. For instance, the usurious habits and transactions of *banyās* in India and Jews elsewhere in ancient times could not be without effect on Muslims, to whom both giving and taking of interest is religiously forbidden, yet unless provision is made in the country for lending money without interest there is much to prevent Muslims in need of money for emergency purposes from falling into the evil of at least giving interest on loans. Thus, a conference of Muslim

1. Published under the title : *Kitāb al-Majmū'*, corpus juris di Zaid ibn Ali (VIII S. Chr.) la più antica raccolta di legislazione e di giurisprudenza musulmana finora ritrovata, testo arabo publ... per la prima volta sui mss. iemenici della Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, ... da E. Griffini, Milano 1919.

2. Sometimes also known as *Fatāwī Hindīyah*.

3. *سيرة النعمان*, Vol. II, 179. *جامع مسانيد الامام الأعظم لأبي المؤيد محمد بن محمود الخوارزمي*, Vol. I, 32-33.

savants and leaders of all over the world met in Medinah in 773 H., and discussed the problems, political as well as social and moral, affecting the Muslims of those days, and resolved how to deal with them. The minutes and proceedings of this important conference were published by one of the delegates, as-Saiyid Abul-Fath *alias* Shaikh 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Baghdādiy, under the title *Mukhtār al-Kawnain*. Unfortunately there is no trace of the complete work now; only a part of it exists in a private library in India. The original text is not yet edited, but a Hindustani translation was printed some years ago under the title *مدینه کانفرنس* which has been analysed and reviewed in *Islamic Culture*, January, 1941.

A few words about modern authors.

As with many other subjects of Arabic literature, the interest of non-Muslim Europeans in Islamic laws of war and peace has preceded the determination of modern Muslim scholars to deal with the subject. These are a few of the more important books or articles by European authors :

1. Haneberg, *Das muslimische Kriebsrecht* (in : *Abhandlungen der philoso.-philolog. Bayrisch. Akademie der Wissenschaft*, 1869).
2. E. Nys, *Le droit des gens dans les rapports des Arabes et des Byzantins* (in : *Revue du droit international et legislation comparée*, 1896, Bruxelles, pp. 461-87).
3. C. Huart, *Le Droit de guerre* (in : *Revue du monde musulman*, Paris, 1907, pp. 331-46).
4. *Idem*, *Le Khalifat et la guerre sainte* (in : *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1915, pp. 288-302).
5. E. Fagnan, *Le Djihad selon l'école malekite* (Algiers, 1908).
6. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes* (1910, Leiden-Leipzig), *in loco*.
7. F. F. Schmidt, *Die Occupatio im islamischen Recht* (in : *Der Islam*, 1910, pp. 300-353).
8. Polemics during the Great War of 1914-18; the following may be noted :
 - (a) Snouck-Hurgronje, *Heilige Oorlog Made in Germany* (in : *De Gids*, January 1915).
 - (b) C. H. Becker, *Deutschland und der heilige Krieg* (in : *Internationale Monatschrift*, 1915, Sp. 631-662).
 - (c) Snouck-Hurgronje, *Deutschland und der heilige Krieg, Erwiderung* (in the same, Sp. 1025-1034).
 - (d) C. H. Becker, *Schlusswort* (in the same, Sp. 1033-1042).
 - (e) F. Schwally, *Der heilige Krieg des Islam in religionsgeschichtlicher und staatsrechtlicher Bedeutung* (in the same, 1916, Sp. 678-714).
9. Hatschek, *Der Musta'min, ein Beitrag zum internationalen Privat-und Völkerrecht des islamischen Gesetzes*, Berlin, 1919.
10. W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, 1925.

Further, there is a vast literature on Khilāfat in Russian, German,

Italian, French, English, etc. A useful resumé of it was published in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* (now published under the name : *Revue des Études Islamique*, Paris) of 1925.

We must also not neglect the various books on the history of modern international law in which the contribution of Islam has been discussed and described. For instance Walker, in his *History of the Law of Nations* (vol. 1, Cambridge, 1899), Bordwell, *Law of War between Belligerents*, (Chicago, 1908), Nys, *Études de droit international public et de droit politique*, and also in his *Les Origines du droit international* (Paris, 1894), Holtzendorff, *Handbuch des Völkerrechts* (1885, in the first of the four vols.) and others.

As for Muslim writers, the need was felt, so far as I know, as early as the nineties of the last century. Writing a history of international law in general, Ibrāhīm Haqqī of Istanbul deplores the non-existence of works on Muslim International Law. In a characteristic passage, after discussing the contribution of Islam in about a dozen pages, he says :—

”إفادات معروضه دن مقصد عاجزانه ام انسانیة مدار مفخرت اوله جق هر خصوصه فوق العاده ترقی ایدن ملل اسلامیة نک قرون وسطی ده غریبونه هر وجهله فائق اولدیغنی و بناً علیه مدنیتی بوقدر ایلرولش ملتلرک بین الملل معاملاتده رعایتی مقتضی اولان قواعدجه جهل تام اوزده بولنملری و بویابده تدقیقات و تالیفاتده بولنملری محال بولند یغنی گوسترمکدر . فقط نه چاره که حکمای اسلامیة نک آثارندن بر چوغی اهل صلیب و تاتارلر معرفتیه محو و منعدم اولش و بر قسمیده کتبخانه گوشه لرنده مستور قالش اولغله بوخصوصده بیان معلومات وسع عاجزانه مک فوقنده اولوب بویولده آثاری بالتحریر قدماى اسلامک حقوق بین الدول خصوصنده دخی غریبونه رجحانی اثبات ایتمک علمای کرام حضراتنه عاید بر وظیفه مقدس در .“

(تاریخ حقوق بین الدول ص ۳۷ - ۳۸ . مولفی ابراهیم حقى . مکتب ملکیه شاهانه

ماذونلرندن . استانبول قره بت و قسبار مطبعه سی سنه ۱۳۰۳)

That is :

“ By these few notes, my humble purpose is to point out that the Muslim peoples have been the pride of humanity. They made extraordinary progress in every walk of life, and surpassed the Westerners in every respect during the Middle Ages. Therefore, they cannot have completely ignored this important branch of civilized life, namely, the rules of international intercourse, and cannot but have made researches into and written works on this subject. Yet what is to be done ? The achievements of the great Muslim authors have partly been destroyed by the People of the Cross and by the Tartars, and partly lie hidden in the corners of libraries. Consequently, it is above my capacity to give details in this respect. And, it is a sacred duty of the *ulema* to conduct researches and prove the superiority of classical Muslim authors even in respect of international law.”

A co-citizen of this author of ours, Aḥmad Rashīd, cherishes the same notions even in 1937, and asserts :

“ En effet, aucun livre n'a paru jusqu'à présent qui exposât, dans leur ensemble, les vues de l'Islam en ce qui concerne le droit des gens.”¹

Still Mr. Aḥmad Rashīd has not shirked the task of taking responsibility on his own shoulder as best he could, hence his lectures in the Academy of International Law of the Hague. I have, however, come to know of the following monographs on the subject before the Hague lectures just referred to :—

1. Negib Armanāzī, of Damascus, *L'Islam et le droit international*, thesis, Paris, 1929.

2. The same, Arabic edition with certain additions, *الشرع الدولي في الاسلام* لنجيب الأرمنازي, Damascus, 1930.

3. Saba, *L'Islam et la Nationalité*, thesis, Paris, 1933 (with acknowledgement to the bibliography of Cardahi ; but I could not identify the nationality of the author).

4. M. Chaigān of Teherān, *Essai sur l'histoire du droit public*, thesis, Paris, 1934.

5. *Die Neutralität im islamischen Völkerrecht*, by the writer of these lines, thesis, Bonn a/R, 1933 (published 1935).

6. Abul-A'lā Maudūdī of Delhi, *الجهاد في الاسلام* comprising articles originally contributed to the Hindustani bi-weekly *al-Jam'iyat* of Delhi, published in the series of Dārul-Muṣannifīn, A'zamgarh, 1348 H.

7. Aḥmad Rashīd, just referred to above, 1937.

8. The present monograph, begun in 1929, submitted in 1933, revised and published now.

Other monographs, of even earlier date, on modern expositions of *Jihād* will be mentioned in our general bibliography in an appendix.

6. Awards of Arbitrators and Referees.

By arbitration, mediation, reference and similar terms we understand the fact that two parties to a conflict agree to abide by the opinion of a third and impartial person. There are cases of this kind not only in internal but also in international conflicts. The difference between these various terms will be seen later. It will suffice if we mention here that such awards have always been held as useful precedents, and generally have been referred to when similar cases arose. The more so when in such awards there are set forth the principles on which the opinion of the arbiter was based.

1. *L'Islam et le droit des gens*, par Ahmed Rechid (in: Recueil des Cours, Académie de droit international, the Hague, 1937, II, p.378).

7. *Treaties.*

Another important source of international law comprises treaties. Sometimes they are bilateral and sometimes multilateral, and obviously they bind only the parties thereto. We shall deal with them in detail later, but it may be pointed out here that there are no precedents in Islamic history of all the states of the world¹ adhering to a treaty, and the reason is not far to seek. Communications and economic interdependence, as also restrictions on foreigners, were not so far developed in those days.

In connection with treaties, it must be recognized once for all, that there are certain rules in Muslim law which are imperatively compulsory and for ever (تعبدی و تأبدی). These cannot lose their binding force except when, and so long as, one is in extreme stress and unavoidable necessity (اضطرار). "Except one who is driven by necessity, neither craving nor transgressing, it is no sin for him"² is the oft-repeated Qur'anic provision. And hence the maxim الضرورات تبیح المحظورات (stress renders the forbidden permissible).³ Again, there are rules in Muslim law which though not compulsory yet their execution is praiseworthy (مستحب). Thirdly, there are those whose performance or omission is left to the discretion of individual persons (مباح).

It is regarding only this last category of acts that custom and treaty impositions are upheld and rendered valid by Muslim law. And as explained above, treaties concluded under stress against the injunctions of canon law (شریعة) are binding only so long as the necessity remains. Rules regarding the repudiation of treaties will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

It is to be noted that treaties are sometimes wholly and deliberately law-making between the parties concerned; on other occasions they refer incidentally to legislation in an international sense.

8. *Official Instructions.*

The next source is contained in official instructions to generals, admirals, ambassadors, delegates and representatives, in short to those officials who have some connection or other with the conduct of the state in international affairs. These may be published, or confidentially given out and kept secret. They often contain important material for our subject.

1. In modern times also there are only a very few universal treaties, such as the Postal Convention of Berne; and the Muslim states have adhered to them.

2. Qur'ān, 2: 173, 5: 3, 6: 120, 6: 146, 16: 115.

3. Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 479.

From the very time of the Prophet down to our age we find this practice continued. A few of the more typical documents containing such instructions will be given in an appendix.

9. *Internal Legislation and Unilateral Declarations.*

Although the whole of international law is, in a sense, part of the internal legislation and law of the land, yet we must distinguish between general rules of international conduct and particular rules concerning particular states or particular classes of foreigners. Again, there is a difference between rules correlated and reciprocated and between rules that have no counterpart. To illustrate this last point, we may refer to the command of the Prophet that non-Muslims should be expelled from Arabia¹ where they can no longer settle, and the Qur'ānic injunction that non-Muslims cannot enter the Grand Mosque of Mecca.²

10. *Custom and Usage.*

Very little has so far been written, from a scientific point of view, on the place of custom, usage, conventions and the like in Muslim law, although the validity of such things as *'urf*, *'ādah*, *ta'āmul* and *ūmūm al-balawā* has been recognised in Muslim jurisprudence without much dispute. Of course much heart-burning is caused by indiscreet ways of putting things, and we must not disregard the difference between saying that "all your relatives will die before you" and "you will live longer than all your relatives," a real difference, which as the story goes, caused one astrologer dishonour and brought to the other untold riches on the part of their royal master. By the utter disregard of these human weaknesses, we shall be doing service to nobody. Modern European writers, for instance, say: Muslim law was greatly influenced by Roman law—and of course this is liable to cause resentment. A great Orientalist of Jewish descent has, for instance, denied any influence of Roman law on Muslim law, still he maintains that Jewish law has influenced it, basing his argument on the presence of Jews in Medinah in the time of the Prophet. All such conclusions and allegations were inspired by objectionable motives, hence they do not give the whole picture, affected as they are by narrow vision.

This is not the proper place to make a thorough study of the question.³ Yet I may be misunderstood if I do not make it clear why custom is to be

1. Bukhārīy 55 : 176, 58 : 6, 64 : 83—Muslim, Vol. V, p. 75. —Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 222—Ibn Sa'd, Vol. 2/1, p. 44 ; Wensinck, *فتاوح السنن*, in loco.

2. Qur'an, 9 : 28.

3. See, however, the note of a lecture of mine, in *Islamic Culture*, January, 1939, pp. 125-126, and my extension lecture in the University of Madras : *فقہ اسلامی کی تدوین و ارتقاء میں بیرونی موثرات* (i.e., Foreign Influences in the Development and Codification of Muslim Law), not yet published.

considered as one of the sources of Muslim law in general and of Muslim International Law in particular.

We have seen under source No. 2, that what the Prophet tolerated among his Companions rendered it valid and lawful. The very "toleration" (تقرير, as it is termed) implies the recognition of custom, no matter old or new, as a source of law. As for later times the all-pervading maxims العرف قاض¹ (everything that is not prohibited is permissible), and العرف قاض (custom or rule of convention is decisive)² leave not the slightest doubt that custom and usage, with certain qualifications, are lawful sources of rules of conduct for the Faithful.

We must, however, not confuse laws of the Muslims and Muslim laws. By the former I understand the laws which certain sections of the vast Muslim community observe, for instance the customs regarding inheritance, marriage, etc., prevailing among Muslims in the Malay Peninsula, Berberland of North Africa, the Punjab, Bombay and Malabar in India and the like,—customs very much at variance with the tenets of what the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* have expressly laid down.

Regarding Muslim law proper, we know that Islam began in Mecca, full of pagan Arab traders who constantly travelled abroad. Later its centre of gravitation moved to Medina when the Prophet migrated to that place, where Jews also lived in thousands. Not a decade had passed since the Hijrah when the boundaries of the Muslim State crossed with those of the Persian and Byzantine empires. A decade and a half still later, in the year 27 H.,³ we see the armies of Islam penetrating even into Spain, to remain there until Tāriq came many generations later to complete the conquest, when the Islamic State, like a colossal crescent, spread from the Pyrenees to the mountains of China, crossing Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Turkistān, Armenia, and all the coastal countries of North Africa. Thus it came into contact with the Meccans and other Arabs, as well as with Jews, Christians, Greeks, Spaniards,

1. Cf. Qur'ān, 4 : 24, 6 : 120 : "Lawful unto you are all beyond those mentioned ;" "And He hath explained unto you that which is forbidden unto you."

2. There are some more from ash-Shaibaniy's writings :
الشرح السير الكبير (الثابت بالعرف كالنص) (idem, I, 194) : Evidence of custom is like that of the text of a statute.
المعروف بالعرف كالشرط بالنص (idem, IV, 23, 25) : To learn through custom is like prescribing in the text.
المطلق من الكلام يتقيد بدلالة العرف (idem, IV, 16) : A general may be rendered a particular by evidence of custom.

المادة تجعل حكما إذا لم يوجد النص بخلافه (idem, I, 198) : Usage is decisive when not prescribed otherwise in the text.

المادة معتبرة في تقييد مطلق الكلام (idem, II, 296) : Usage is valid to particularise a general rule.

3. Tabariy, *Annales*, I, 2816-17 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 72 ; Abul-Fidā', I, 262 ; Dhahabīy, *at-Ta'rikh al-Kabir*, anno 27 ; cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, V, 555 (ed. Oxford University Press).

Persians (Magians), Buddhists of Turkistān and Chinese of Sinkiang,—to mention but a few of the more civilised peoples of those times of whom Islam made many converts. Histories mention that not much difference is to be found between the pre-Islamic pagan pilgrimage and the Islamic Hajj, which is one of the five basic elements of Islam; that the Caliph 'Umar is reported to have adopted *in toto* the Persian revenue laws when that empire was absorbed into the Muslim State; that the greatest number of jurists Islam has produced came from Bukhārā, Turkistān and adjoining countries where Buddhist and Chinese influence predominated; that the pupils of the Companions of the Prophet and their pupils, the teachers of Abū-Ḥanīfah, Mālik, ash-Shāfi'iy, Ibn-Ḥanbal and others were generally *mawālī* of non-Arab origin who could not obviously have forgotten all that they knew of the existing and prevalent conditions of pre-Islamic origin in their countries and even families; that Abū-Ḥanīfah himself had a Persian father and an Indian mother; that there are express commands in the Qur'ān¹ to follow the laws of Moses, Jesus, Abraham and other Messengers of God, and it is reliably recorded that the Prophet ordered² Muslims to follow the practice of the Jews and Christians in matters in which there was no provision in Muslim law;³ that not only were many pre-Islamic Arab customs tolerated by the Prophet, but he went so far as to prescribe *يعمل في الاسلام بفضائل الجاهلية*,³ (in Islam the virtues of the days of *Ignorance* [in Arabia] will be acted upon). No doubt, legal rules of Byzantines, Persians and others did not come into Muslim law with any sanctity attached to them, but simply as a matter of convenience and expedience *and* because they were not against the injunctions of positive Muslim law. Their infiltration may be traced to a very great extent to the customs and usages of the country occupied by the Muslims.

Thus we see that notwithstanding the fact that many customs and usages, conventions and habits were amended or even abolished by Islam, there is no denying the fact that the very large remainder contributed, to a considerable extent, to Muslim law as one of its sources.⁴

Retrospect.

We can see now that the relevant portions of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* form permanent positive law of the Muslims in their international dealings; state-legislation and treaty obligations establish temporary positive law; and all the rest provide non-positive or case law and suggested law respectively.

1. Qur'ān, 6 : 84-91 : ("so follow their guidance"); 3: 95, 16: 123 : ("Follow the religion of Abraham").

2. E.g., جامع الترمذی in connexion with combing.

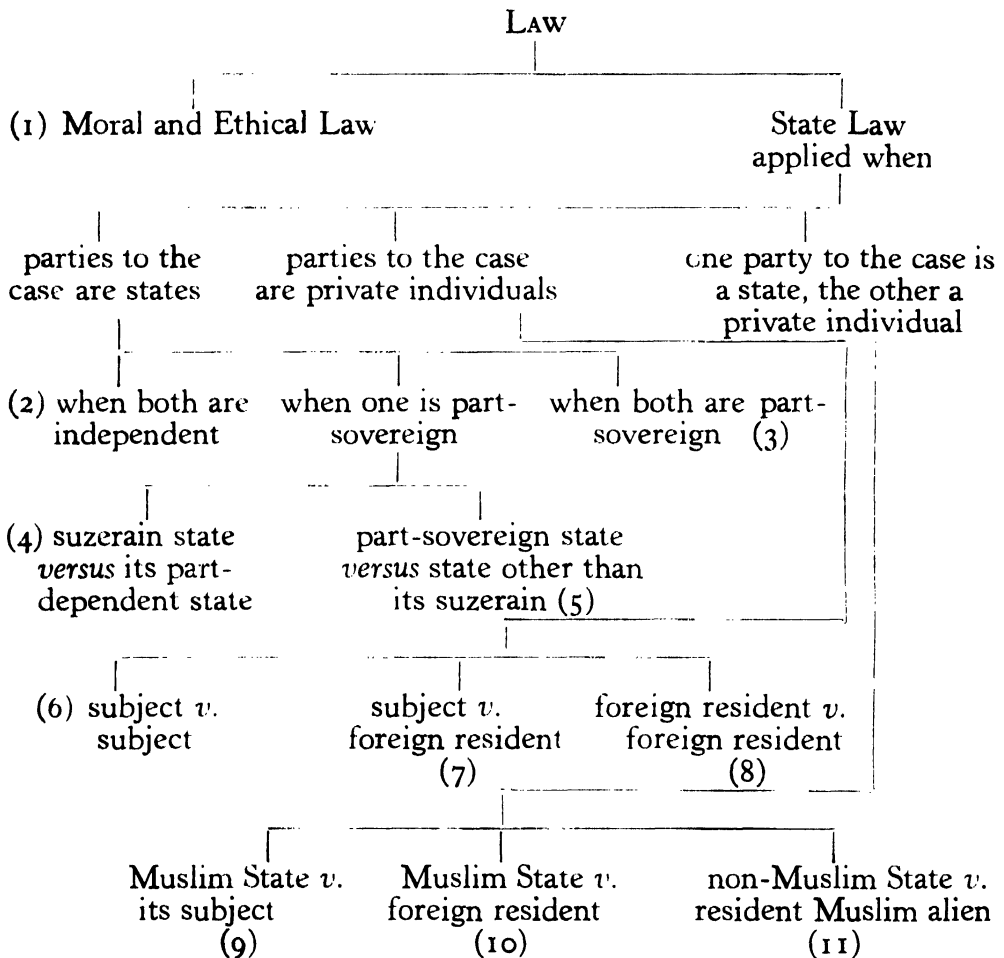
3. Ibn-Ḥanbal, III, 425.

4. For a detailed enumeration see المحبر of Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 163, 211-32.

CHAPTER VII

The Place of International Law in Law General

BY law we mean the rules which the government of a state passes or approves for the conduct of its whole *gubernatorium* and its subjects. Thus, the rules of conduct for that part of the *gubernatorium* which is concerned with foreign relations will be international law. This may more clearly be appreciated in the following division of law which we humbly suggest :—

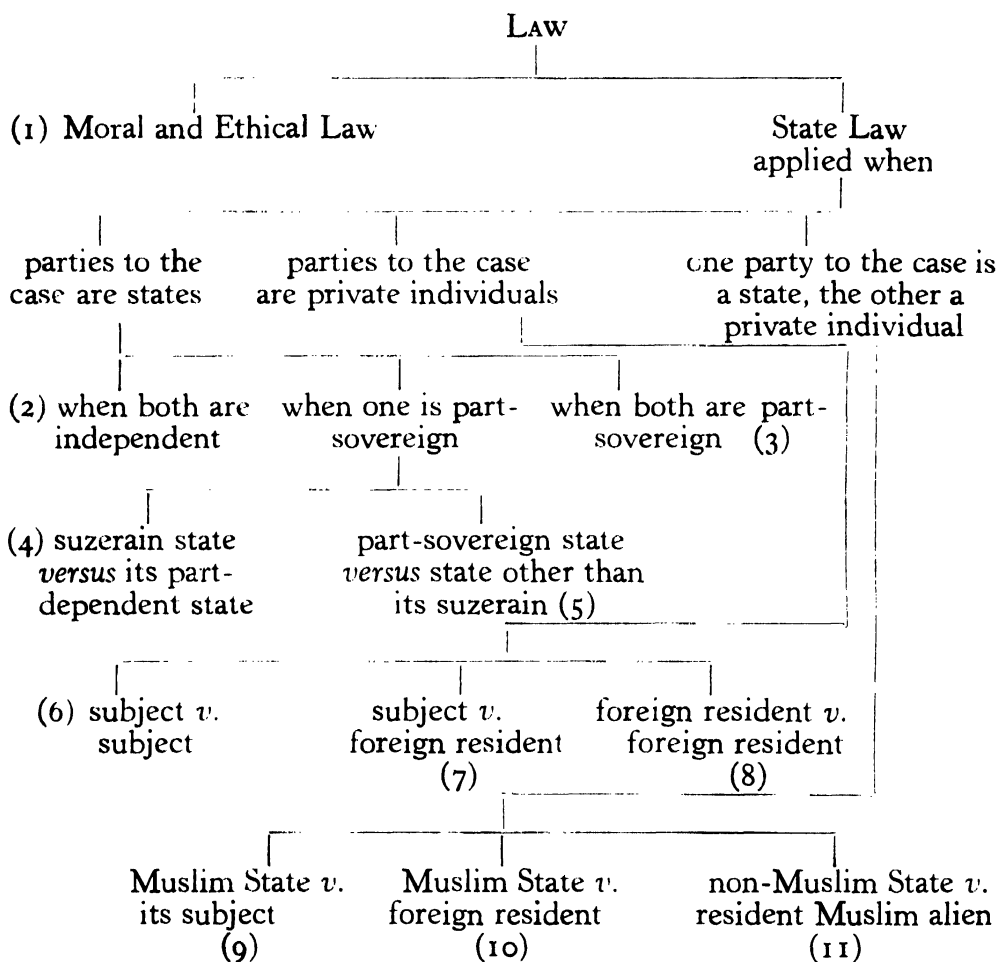


We have no direct concern in international law with No. 1. Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 comprise law governing inter-governmental relations. These along with Nos. 10 and 11 form public international law. Nos. 7 and 8 belong to private international law. And Nos. 6 and 9 comprise law of the land in its narrower sense which is also called civil law and municipal

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And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of God, and do not separate. And remember God's favour unto you : how ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts so that ye became as brothers by His grace ; and (how) ye were upon the brink of an abyss of fire, and He did save you from it. Thus God maketh clear His revelations unto you, that ye may be guided. (*idem*, 3 : 103).

And obey God and His messenger, and dispute not one with another lest ye falter and your wind depart (from your sails) ; but be steadfast ! Lo ! God is with the steadfast. (*idem*, 8 : 46).

Lo ! this, your community, is one sole community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me. (*idem*, 21 : 92 ; cf. 23 : 52).

Islam is a religion of unity and action which safeguards individual rights and liberties and provides at the same time for collective welfare. I refer to the institutions of *zakāt* and *Baitul-Māl*. And as its call was not meant, from its very inception, for any particular country, it was an advance over what had hitherto been done to internationalise human society.

Besides this universality of its call, Islam instituted *hajj* and *khilāfat*, which I shall consider one after the other.

Brotherhood of Man.

A few typical quotations from the Qur'ān alone would illustrate my point :—

(a) Creation of mankind from the same couple :

O mankind ! Be careful of your duty to your Lord, Who created you from a single soul and from it created its mate and from them twain hath spread abroad a multitude of men and women. (Qur'ān, 4 : 1).

O mankind ! Lo ! We have created you from a single male and female, and We have made you nations and tribes that ye may distinguish one another. Lo ! the noblest of you, in the sight of God, is the one who feareth [Him] most. Lo ! God is Knower, Aware. (*Idem*, 49 : 13).

Other verses to the same effect, cf. 6 : 99, 7 : 189, 39 : 6.

(b) Mankind is one community :

Mankind were one community... (*idem*, 2 : 213).

Mankind were but one community ; then they differed ; and hath it not been for a word that had already gone forth from thy Lord it had been judged between them in respect of that wherein they differ. (*idem*, 10 : 20).

(c) Islam's universal call :

[Muḥammad] thou askest them no fee for it [i.e., Islam]. It is naught else than a reminder unto all nations. (*Idem*, 12 : 104 ; cf. 81 : 27).

And We have not sent thee [O Muḥammad] save as a bringer of good tidings and a warner *unto all mankind* ; but most of mankind know not. (*idem*, 34 : 28).

And We sent thee not [Muḥammad] save as a mercy *for all nations*. (*idem*, 21 : 107).

(d) Difference of colour and language explained :

And the difference of your languages and colours, lo ! herein indeed are portents [of the mastery of the Creator] for men of knowledge. (*idem*, 30 : 22).

And We have made you nations and tribes that ye may distinguish one another . . . (*idem*, 49 : 13).

(e) Toleration par excellence :

Lo ! those who believe [in that which is revealed unto thee, Muḥammad], and those who are Jews, and Christians and Sabeans, —whoever believeth in God and the Last Day and doeth right, —surely their reward is with their Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve. (*idem*, 2 : 62).

Lo ! those who believe (*i.e.*, Muslims), and those who are Jews, and Sabeans, and Christians— whoever believeth in God and the Last Day and doeth right—there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve. (*idem*, 5 : 69).

And a host of other verses, with innumerable sayings of the Prophet and instances of continuous practice all through these fourteen hundred years of Islam, testify to the same effect.

I pointedly invite attention to quotations under *b* and *d* that in Islam the differences of men in colour and language are but phenomena testifying to the great mastery of the Creator ; and that not only all human beings descended from the same couple but that even their religions have had the same source. Quotations under *e*, which have twice been repeated in the Qur'ān are very significant, and show clearly that if the people of the religions cited therein follow fully all the commands of their original religion, shred of later additions, there is no fear regarding their salvation.

What use of international law if it does not aspire to cultivate harmony between nations ?

Hajj or Pilgrimage to Ka'bah.

Islam is ultra-national in its ethnological and other current senses. So the brotherhood of the Faithful, which Islam has inculcated, is truly international. And for the purpose of fostering this brotherhood and causing greater contact between the members of the Muslim community spread all over the world, the institution of *hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca, its cradle, has played a prominent rôle almost from the beginning of Islam. *Hajj* is one of the five " duties for each and every one " (*فروض عين*),

to be observed by the Muslims. Every Muslim, male or female, must perform at least once in life the pilgrimage to the House of God in Mecca, if he or she "can find a way thither."¹ Arabia lies in the midst of the three continents known as the old world. Thus, Mecca is even geographically the centre of the old world, or to adopt the technical term used by the Muslims, it is situated on the "navel of the earth" (نَافِ زَبِين). The pilgrim is required to put off his ordinary clothes and every one wears a simple and humble *iḥram*, leads a life of great self-control, abstains from enjoyment or fulfilling passionate desires, during the *ḥajj* period of his stay in or around Mecca. It is really an awe-inspiring scene to see king and clown dressed alike, standing shoulder to shoulder during the services, and one actually feels the demonstration of the Qur'ānic description of Doomsday: "With whom shall lie the power supreme on this day? With God, the One, the Almighty!"² A really cosmopolitan gathering, and a complete equality of the children of Adam is nowhere else to be found. Such is the annual *ḥajj* of Islam.

Khilāfat.

Another internationalising institution of Islam is the Khilāfat (Caliphate). When the Prophet breathed his last, the Muslims of that time came to the conclusion, with the exception of perhaps two or three individuals, that there could be only one ruler for the totality of the Muslims. Although the Muslim empire soon spread far and wide outside its birth-place, Arabia, yet practically for more than a hundred years the unity of the Muslim empire remained intact. Muslims all over the world, subjects of the Muslim State as well of non-Muslim states, all recognised the Caliph in Madīnah, or later Damascus, as the Commander of the Faithful. After the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus, the Muslim world was divided first into two and later even more independent states. Yet the idea of the succession to the Prophet could not be eliminated from the Muslims. The very claim for this by more than one Muslim ruler at a time supports the contention more than it contradicts it.

There has been no difference of opinion among the Muslims as to the desirability of the institution of a central Caliph except for the insignificant and now almost extinct sect of the Khārijites. The difference among the Sunnīs and the Shi'ahs is only regarding the person chosen for the purpose immediately after the Prophet. Somehow or other, the rightfulness of 'Alīy, a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and his descendants, to the post has become a part of dogma with the Shi'ahs, while the Sunnīs as a matter of fact say that Abū-Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān were elected by almost the unanimous vote of the community, and succeeded to the

1. Qur'ān, 3: 97.

2. *Idem*, 40: 16.

temporal power of the Prophet one after the other before 'Alīy himself was finally chosen for the purpose at the tragic murder of 'Uthmān, and that even 'Alīy did not lag behind in paying homage to and co-operating sincerely with his predecessors in the office.

There is, however, still an opportunity of easy disposal of this matter, since neither of these respected figures is now alive. It cannot be denied that the Prophet functioned as a spiritual guide as well as a temporal leader of the Faithful. As far as the spiritual heritage is concerned, there is almost unanimity even among the Sunnīs, except the less numerous Naqshbandīyah order of Sūfīs, that it was 'Alīy who was the immediate successor of the Prophet. Again, as far as the temporal power is concerned, all agree that it is a transitory thing, and even the Sunnīs do not believe that Abū-Bakr had any right to the post other than the fact that he was elected by the overwhelming majority. Thus the difference resolves itself into the question of fact whether the Prophet had or had not nominated 'Alīy as his immediate successor. Obviously the question is not of any practical importance to-day, after thirteen centuries have revolved since the demise of the persons concerned. The Sunnīs do not mind 'Alīy's being styled the *وصي رسول الله* (Executor of the will of the Messenger of God), since legally an executor and a beneficiary of a testament are not co-equal.

Nomination by the reigning Caliph, of his successor, failing which a general election, must obviously have been, and was in fact, a matter of course, among the *Shī'ahs* as well as the Sunnīs at all times.

CHAPTER IX

The History of International Law before Islam

MONTESQUIEU has rather bluntly remarked :

" Toutes les nations ont un droit des gens ; et les Iroquois mêmes, qui mangent leurs prisonniers, en ont un. Ils envoient et reçoivent les ambassades, ils connaissent les droits de la guerre et de la paix : le mal est que ce droit des gens n'est pas fondé sur les vrais principes."¹

But which people has not once been primitive and even savage ? I need not dilate here on the causes that led to the early or late appearance of different peoples in the society of civilised nations. Further, I do not need to point out that man is the most receptive of created beings ; yet it must not be lost sight of that, given similar circumstances, men, more often than not, think alike ; and it will be absurd to conclude that the

1. *Esprit des Lois*, livre I, ch. 3, p. 7 (Paris 1860) : all the nations possess an international law, even the Iroquois who eat their prisoners. They send and receive envoys, they know the rights of war and peace. Only trouble is that this international law is not based on right principles.

later in time must unavoidably have borrowed his ideas in all cases from those who lived earlier.

It is not necessary here to refer to the history of international laws of other nations in any detail except in so far as they may have contributed to the development of Muslim International Law. The known history of Man begins with the Sumerians, naturally very hazy. There were facilities of intercourse between the peoples of the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The people of Syria, however, had the greater advantage of utilising the accumulated experience of past ages along with their own gifts and resources. People of the Mediterranean sea-board possess, therefore, peculiar interest. Their intercourse led not only to interchange of commodities but even of ideas. Great civilisations have flourished successively in Egypt, Syria, Carthage, Greece, and Rome—all situated on the Mediterranean. The peace treaty between the Egyptian Ramses II (Sesostris, who ruled between 1292-1225 B.C.) and the King of the Hittites of Northern Syria, designed in the treaty as *Hiṭāsēr* (chief of *Hiṭai*, now the Turkish *Hatay*) is probably the oldest diplomatic document that has come down to us in the original, a silver tablet in this case, inscribed in the Hittite language. It stipulated not only the end of the great Syrian war and perpetual peace between the two kings under the protection of the deities of both the countries, but also an alliance against the enemies of both the contracting parties. The trade and industries of both the nations were to be immune. Convicts of one country taking refuge in the other had to be extradited, but it was expressly provided that certain kinds of punishment could not be inflicted on the people so extradited.¹ The Phœnicians gave Greece such an elementary requirement of civilisation as the alphabet. The Hebrews or Jews, another Syro-Palestinean people, evolved a peculiar culture of their own under Moses and the Divine Pentateuch. The Jews were sworn enemies of some foreign nations, as the Amalekites for example, with whom they declined to have any peaceful relations whatever. When they went to war with these people, they killed not only the warriors on the battlefield, but also the aged, the women, and the children in the homes (see Samuel XV for instance). With those nations, however, of which they were not sworn enemies, they used to have international relations. Ambassadors were considered sacrosanct and treaties were faithfully observed.² The influence of the Jewish Bible has continued to exert itself on the world through European nations who embraced Christianity, Jesus Christ himself being born among the Jews.

We now pass to Europe. The Greeks were greatly influenced by Phœnician culture, but the system of international law they evolved was essentially law between city-states of the Greek peninsula. All non-Greeks were termed barbarians, and Aristotle asserted that "nature intended

1. Holtzendorff, *Handbuch des Völkerrechts*, I, 168.

2. Oppenheim, *International Law*, I, 55-56 (4th ed.).

barbarians to be slaves"¹ of the Greeks. Plato,² although he advised his countrymen to be more lenient in their mutual treatment, never entertained the idea that non-Greeks deserved any share in the milder treatment he proposed. The public law of Greek *nations* (subjects of different city-states are meant thereby), was considerably developed, and even a sort of League of Nations was established by many of these cities. The covenant of one such league, the Amphictyonic League of Delphi may be quoted with interest :

"We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town nor cut it from running water in war or peace ; if any other shall do this, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of god or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice, and by every means in our power."³

For a detailed study of Greek International Law, *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* (2 vols.) by C. Phillipson and its admirable bibliography would be useful.

Rome conquered Greece politically yet soon it was reconquered by the Greek, intellectually. The Romans evolved their own laws. They set a college of priests, called fetials, who managed relations with foreign countries when war was declared, peace was made, treaties of friendship or alliance were concluded, when Romans had an international claim before a foreign state or *vice versa*. The life and property of the citizens of a state which had no treaty of friendship with Rome, were not safe in the Roman territory ; such persons could be made slaves and their property seized. Only ambassadors were exceptions. Citizens of a friendly state had a right to legal protection ; and justice was administered to them by the *prætor peregrinus*.⁴

The Roman Empire ruled over Syria and Egypt also. Thus it had common frontiers with Irân, and hence the vicissitudinous wars for centuries together between the two rivals. The Roman Empire was later divided into two, and it was the Eastern Roman Empire of the Byzantines with which we are concerned. Obviously this Eastern Empire was more intensely influenced by Greek than its counterpart in Rome. Nevertheless, it was the code of Justinian, adopted from laws of Rome, that regulated life in countries where the Arabs had direct commercial and other interests. Roman laws of peace, more especially private international law, could be regarded as fairly developed, yet the laws of war were in the main based on the discretion of individual commanders, and we can glean the rules of belligerent conduct in the wars waged against the Persians and others.

The Arabian Peninsula had common frontiers with both the Byzantine and the Persian Empires. Both these Empires had carved out for them-

1. *Politics*, bk. I, ch. 7.

2. Cited by Lawrence, *Principles of International Law*, p. 15 (6th ed.).

3. *International Law* by Wilson and Tucker, p. 16 (8th ed.).

4. Cf. Oppenheim, *International Law*, I, 59-61 (4th ed.).

selves colonies, protectorates and even buffer-states of purely Arab peoples. As we have already seen, what we call Muslim law has not been developed by Arabs only ; people from Syria, Irān, Egypt, Turkistān, etc., co-operated from the very first centuries of its development. The researcher in the *history* of Muslim International Law will deal with Roman, Persian, Buddhist and other systems of international law. For me it will suffice to describe conditions in Arabia only, from the point of view of international law, since it was the rules prevalent in this country that were in the main utilised by the Muslims with adaptation, amendment, addition and adoption.

Pre-Islamic Arabia.

At the dawn of Islam, early in the seventh century of the Christian era, Arabia presents itself as a vast congeries of innumerable independent political groupings, based primarily on tribalism. The tribes were either nomad or settled. Even members of one and the same tribe were, more often than not, divided into these two kinds. The settled Arabs had generally their own city-states. " Each city had its surrounding territory, large enough—but not unnecessarily extensive—to allow of the convenient assembly of its free citizens, for the purpose of exercising the rights and discharging the obligations incidental to citizenship . . . Though the Arabs spoke a common language, took part in common fairs, consulted the same oracles, worshipped the gods in common [and to a great extent observed the same customs], yet their separation into independent city-states rendered possible the evolution of law governing the relationships between them in their capacity of sovereign powers. The position of such autonomous communities cannot be said to be fundamentally different from that, say, of the European states from the point of view of the operativeness and applicability of an international law. It is true that the intrinsic kinship of the Arabs stamps them as practically one nation, even though subdivided into different municipalities. But international law requires for its development the existence of independent *political* communities, not necessarily different in race, language, religion, or anything else . . . The characteristic note of each city was competence and self-sufficiency . . . The intense genealogism of the Arabs prompted an attitude of civic seclusion. The spirit of separateness, of isolation made political unity impossible. To the Arab, his state, *i.e.*, his tribe and tribal settlement (قوة واد), was no vapid abstraction, but a living reality. He was bound to it by an almost indissoluble tie ; he was ready to give up his life for it, since he was indebted to it for his privileges, for his dignity, for his very existence . . . The Arabs as Arabs cherished aspiration for unity, but as citizens their constant aim was decentralization ; and their claims of citizenship invariably triumphed over those of racial kinship. Although their genius

was so versatile, they found free scope for its exercise within the circumscribed limits of their respective city-states and settlements. They constructed no great works of engineering skill. Their concern was with the conquest of the intellectual dominions (*poetry*, I mean) rather than with the establishment of territorial empires. Their nature is characterized by the love of art,¹ as a contrast for example, to the love of knowledge attributed to the Greek, and to love of wealth attributed to the Phœnicians and Egyptians. They may have proved incapable of political unity, but they were possessed of that intellectual unity which marks the true civilization of a people."²

In remoter antiquity, especially in Yaman, veritable empires had sprung up, thanks to the amenities of life that were provided there by nature, yet at the dawn of Islam even there chaos ruled supreme and the older kingdoms and empires had disintegrated into petty townships. The territories under foreign domination such as 'Umān, Bahrain, etc., were rather better off, although even there division into nomads and the settled obtained.

Not only the city-states of Arabia, but even the large number of wandering tribes could be dosed with the same physic of political personality. In political autonomy they were inferior to none. Territory they did possess, although they lived in different seasons of the year in different parts of it. They also had their own political organisation. They administered justice, they waged war and concluded treaties just as any other state.

Bellum omnium contra omnes has so often been pictured as the normal condition of Arabia. It may be true to a certain extent. That, however, is no denying the fact that the Arabs managed, somehow or other, how to live a peaceful life also. For instance, they evolved the institution of the months of the *truce of God* (أشهر حرم)³ which so much mitigated the hardships reserved for unallied tribes. Again, they developed the escort system to the pitch of fine art, which was another factor in saving life and property in the midst of hungry Beduins. An interesting and important quotation from a classical author gives a glimpse of this great institution :-

"Every trader who set out from Yeman or Hedjāz (for Dūmatul-jandal in the extreme north of Arabia), acquired the services of the Quraishite escort as long as he travelled in the country inhabited by the Mudarite tribes, since no Mudarite nor ally of the Muḍarites harassed the Quraishite traders. So, the Kalbites never harassed

1. See further : *The City-State of Mecca*, (Islamic Culture, July 1938), p. 275.

2. Adopted *mutatis mutandis* from what others have written regarding others, yet so true of Arabia also. Regarding the conditions of Mecca, the birthplace of the Prophet, see my article, *The City-State of Mecca*, (Islamic Culture, July 1938).

3. Cf. *Islamic Culture*, (July 1938), pp. 267-268 ; Proceedings of the 2nd session of the Idārah Ma'ārif Islāmiyah, Lahore, pp. 98-99.

them as they were allied to the Banu-al-Jusham ; and the Tayites also never harassed them because of their alliance with Banū-Asad . . . When they intended to go to 'Irāq, they acquired the services of escorts of Banū-'Amr-ibn-Murthid (of the clan of Qais-ibn-Tha'labah), which protected them in the whole of the country inhabited by the tribes of Rabī'ah . . . When going to al-Mushaqqar in Bahrain, Quraishite escorts were sought . . . Then the fair of Ṣuḥār, in 'Umān, which assembled on the first day of the month of Rajab and continued for five days. And al-Julandā-ibn-al-Mustakbir taxed them there a tithe. Then the fair of Dabā which was one of the two major ports of Arabia. It was visited by traders from Sindh, India, China, people of the East and the West . . . When going to the fair of Maḥara, in the southern extremity of Arabia, escorts of Banū-Muḥārib were employed . . . In the fair of Aden, however, no escorts were needed since it was a state-territory and of good order (أرض مملكة وأمر محكم) . . . In the fair of Rābiyah in Hadramawt, the Quraishites were escorted by the Banū-Ākil-al-Murār and the rest of the people were escorted by the Āl-i-Masrūq of Kindah. It brought glory and eminence to both these tribes. Yet the Ākil-al-Murār superseded their rivals on account of the patronage of the Quraishites¹. . . 'Ukāz was the greatest of the Arab fairs, and was visited by the tribes of Quraish, Hawāzin, Ghatafān, Aslam, Aḥābīsh, 'Adl, ad-Dīsh, al-Jabbār (MS. الجبا) and al-Muṣṭaliq."²

There are innumerable instances of individual escorts in the pre-Islamic history of Arabia.³

Another item of the law of nations was the system of " *ilāf* or pacts " (الايلاف العهد),⁴ developed by the Meccans. They concluded pacts, or rather obtained charters from the rulers of Syria, Abyssinia, Irān, Yaman, etc., in order to bring caravans of trade to their respective territories, in perfect immunity. The Meccan magnates promised the many tribes inhabiting on their trade-route to these different countries to carry their goods as agents without commission for commercial purposes, or otherwise concluded treaties of friendship and immune transit through their respective territories.⁵

1. Cf. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda of the Family of Ākil-al-Murār* (Lund, 1927).

2. Muḥammad-ibn-Ḥabīb (d 245 H.), كتاب المحبر (MS. British Museum), ch. Fairs of Arabia, pp. 181-84.

3. E. g. at-Tanūkhīy, المستجاد من فعات الاجراد (MS. Leningrad), Story No. 32, with acknowledgement to my class-mate in Bonn, Dr. Leo Pauly : "وبعث (مهلهل) معي خفيراً من ماء إلى ماء حتى وردوا إلى الحيرة"

Again al-Marzūqīy, "وكانت هذه الاسواق ... لا يصل احد اليها الا بخفير II, 161 كتاب الازمنة والامكنة ولا يرجع الا بخفير"

4. Muḥammad-ibn-Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

5. Ya'qūbīy, I, 280 ff.; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 43, 45; Ṭabarīy, *Annales*, I, 1089; *idem*, *Tafsīr*, Vol. XXX, *Sūrah Ilāf*; *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. *Ilāf*; Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, p. 128; etc.

Although there was no unity in Arabia, in the sense that there was no one central authority for the whole of the desert Peninsula—so much so that in the words of Wellhausen there was “*ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit*”¹ (a community without superior authority)—yet it cannot be denied that strong tendencies were already working, before Islam, for a centralised unity. We have seen how the escort system had already embraced the whole country, from Mecca to Baḥrain, from Dūmatuljandal to Maharah. I can go even so far as to conclude that already an economic—as distinguished from political—federation had been accomplished in the Arabian Peninsula. For, when we study the question of fairs in Arabia, we learn a very curious story. Muḥammad-ibn-Ḥabīb² and al-Marzūqīy³ record it on the authority of Ibn-*al*-Kalbīy that the sequence of the fairs was as follows :

No. of month	Dates	Place
1	10-30	<u>K</u> haibar
3	1-30	Dūmatuljandal
6	1-30	al-Mushaqqar (Baḥrain, now Ḥasa)
7	1- 5	Ṣuḥār ('Umān)
7	30-?	Dabā ('Umān)
8	15-?	<u>S</u> hiḥr (Maharah)
9	1-10	Aden (Yaman)
9	15-30	San'ā' (Yaman)
11	15-30	Rābiyah (Ḥaḍramawt) as well as 'Ukāz (near Ṭā'if), simultaneously.
12	1- 8	<u>D</u> hul-Majāz (between 'Ukāz and Mecca).
12	9-11	Minā (place of ḥajj, outside Mecca).

Looking on the map, one finds at a glance that this means a tour of the whole of Arabia, from North to East, from East to South, from South to West and from West to North. Our authors have particularly mentioned that these were not local fairs but were attended by people from far-off parts of the country and even from abroad. For instance, they have mentioned that the Meccans attended the fairs of Dūmatuljandal and Rābiyah ; or, that 'Ukāz was attended by Aslam, Ḡhaṭafān and others. They also mention that many of the traders went from one fair to another, naturally not to all. Again, these were the all-Arab fairs (أسواق العرب الكبيرة),⁴

1. This is the title of a monograph of Wellhausen.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 181-84.

3. كتاب الازمنة والامكنة, II, 161-70.

4. *Idem*, p. 161.

otherwise there were many other important though rather provincial fairs like Majannah,¹ Badr,² Ḥubāshah, etc.

Another evidence of centripetal tendencies in Arabia was the common arbitrators. These arbiters, soothsayers and other diviners were resorted to by all people irrespective of tribe and clan. 'Āmir-ibn-az-Zarib and others have left many anecdotes of their impartiality, the reason for which they were trusted and respected.³

Among other international laws of peace in Arabia, we come across asylum and quarter (جوار),⁴ refuge,⁵ naturalised and domiciled aliens (موالى، حلفاء), extradition,⁶ hospitality of foreigners,⁷ and even laws of shipwreck.⁸

Last but not least, I may mention in this connection the famous Order of Chivalry, *ḥilf al-fudūl*, inaugurated in the time of the Jurhumites and revived again during the adolescence of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam. Its adherents swore to side with anyone oppressed, be he a co-citizen or a foreigner, within their city limits, and not to give up his cause unless justice was done.⁹ (For other organisations, called ذادة, against the mischief of those who would not observe the months of the *truce of God*, functioning in different fair-centres, cf. History of al-Ya'qūbiy, Vol. I, pp. 314-15.)

Obviously, the laws of war were much more developed. Declaration of war,¹⁰ treatment of enemy person and property, prisoners of war,¹¹

1. al-Marzūqīy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 161, footnote; cf. Sa'id al-Afghāniy, اسواق العرب (Damascus).

2. Ṭabariy, *History*, I, 1307, 1460.

3. Cf. "Administration of Justice in Early Islam," *Islamic Culture*, April 1937, اسلامى عدل گسترى اپنے; Majallah 'Uthmāniyah, XI/1-2; *Histoire de l'Organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* by E. Tyan, Vol. I, pp. 30-80; criticisms and additions on the above by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *Revue des Études Islamique*, April 1939.

4. E. g., Ibn Hishām, p. 251; Ṭabariy, *History*, I, 1203. For details, Ibn-Ḥabīb, *op. cit.* pp. 167-8.

5. Cf. دیوان الحماصة (ed. Europe, pp. 365-66) verses of Abū-Khirāsh:—

حمدت إلهى بعد عروة إذ بنحى خراش وبعض الشرأهون من بعض
ولم أدر من ألقى عليه رداءه على أنه قد سل عن ما جدمحنى

6. There are innumerable cases when a vendetta was prevented thereby.

7. Wāqidīy (ed. von Kremer), p. 23.

8. al-Azraqīy, اخبار مكة (ed. Europe), pp. 106-107.

9. Ibn Hishām, pp. 85-86; Suhailiy, روض الانف, I, 90-94; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 41; *Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal*, I, 190.

10. MS. Brit. Mus., Or., 6492, fol. 22a, b.) و آذن بعضهم بعضا بالحرب (cf. كتاب بكر وتغلب).

11. وكانت ربيعة لا تسب إذ العرب يتساوون في الجاهلية: 2207; Ṭabariy, *History*, I, XII, 47; كتاب الاغانى.

distribution of booty,¹ special privileges of the commander of the expedition,² spies,³ hostages (رهائن),⁴ truce and armistice⁵ and parleys⁶ and a host of other matters, even distinctive uniforms,⁷ were treated in a more or less regularized manner, no matter how harsh or lenient.

Even neutrality was not unknown, and considerable material is available on the subject which we shall deal in Part IV of this monograph.

CHAPTER X

The Place of Islam in the History of General International Law

MODERN international law, in use practically all over the world, is in fact the law originated in Western Europe. Speaking of its history, writers habitually begin with the Greek city-states, describe the Roman period as immediately following, and then all of a sudden talk of modern times, neglecting the gap of full one thousand years that intervenes, and asserting that during the Middle Ages : "for an International Law there was . . . no room and no need."⁸

We do not know much about ancient Phœnicia, which gave Greece such an elementary requirement of culture as script, nor of Irān which was a rival of hers for centuries together. Otherwise we could have known to what extent the Greek system of international law owed its origin or modification to the influences of the city-states of the East.

Again, the influence of Eastern laws on Roman law has been examined by more than one competent scholar, and I do not propose to dwell on this topic at this moment. The main object of this chapter is to examine how far the assertion of Oppenheim tallies with facts when he states that there was no international law in Europe during the Middle Ages, that

1. Cf. any dictionary, s.v. مباح .

2. Cf. 'Abdallah-ibn Ghanmah : حاكمك والشيطانة والفضول quoted by the lexicon المباح منها والصفايا وحكمك والشيطانة والفضول : تاج المعروس and by as-Sarakhsiy, *al-Mabsū*, X, 9. The commander had a right over (1) a fourth of the booty, (2) any other thing which he chose before the distribution, (3) anything captured before the general plunder, (4) any fraction which was indivisible. For the "fourth" cf. also Ṭabariy, *History*, I, 1710.

3. They were of two kinds, viz., eye-spy (عين) and ear-spy (سماع), taken notice of even by the Qur'ān.

4. نقاض جرير والفرزدق, pp. 93, 462 (various kinds).

5. تاريخ يعقوبى, I, 314.

6. *Bakr wa Taghlib*, (MS. Brit. Mus.), fol. 21b.

7. For instance, in the protracted war of Bakr and Taghlib, once all the members of a razzia shaved their heads except one who was proud of his fine hair, and was consequently killed at the hands of his own folk unawares.

8. Oppenheim, *International Law*, I, 62 (4th ed. 1928).

there was no need of such at that time, and that there was no intermediary link between the Roman Period and Modern Times which are separated from each other by almost a thousand years.

As we know, the characteristic feature of the Greek system was that it concerned itself with the limited number of city-states, situated in the Greek Peninsula and inhabited by people of one and the same race, speaking the same tongue, believing in the same religion, and observing the same customs, though independent of each other and jealously guarding this exclusive existence of theirs at no small cost. The Greek states had, in fact, two separate and distinct sets of the rules of international law, *viz.*, one to be observed in relation to Greek people, and the other regarding the rest of the world. This latter set of rules was less developed and scarcely systematised.

The chief feature of the Roman Period, on the other hand, is said to have been this, that their law applied not to people of one race but to subjects of the Roman Empire as a whole. This Roman Empire consisted, in fact, of so many states, more or less owing allegiance to Cæsar yet enjoying to a great extent internal autonomy and home-rule. Whenever these different states under the sway of Cæsar had some dispute with one another, the matter was referred to Rome and the decision of the Emperor, in accordance with Roman Law, was final. This is what our enthusiastic writers call the successor of the Greek system of international law and the precursor of its namesake of modern times. Perhaps one may be entitled to doubt the correctness of this statement. Why not give the name of Roman International Law to that set of rules which the Romans observed in their dealings with non-Roman countries, in times of war as well as peace? These rules might not have been very elaborate nor greatly developed to the extent of being systematised, yet they alone would legitimately be entitled to be called Roman International Law, and not that set of administrative rules which were applicable only to the component parts of the Empire itself. It would be simply a misnomer. My impression, however, is that the Roman International Law of peace was a great advance on the Greek system (*cf.* Phillipson's work); yet the Roman law of war remained very much the same, recognising no right for the belligerent, and using nothing but discretion regarding the non-Roman enemy.

The Modern system of international law, however, recognises that a belligerent has as much right as a friendly state in time of peace; that war does curtail certain rights, nevertheless many a right of an independent state remains intact even when the parties find themselves at war with each other.

How did that come about? The modern European system is said to be based upon the Roman system, and we have seen that there was nothing in the Roman Law which could have suggested this change of attitude. Is it a purely modern achievement or any influence of Christianity or anything else?

Let us take Christianity first. Although the European people began to embrace Christianity very early, yet the teaching of love inculcated by Jesus ill-suited the development of international law. Matthew transmits as the saying of Christ the injunction : " Resist not evil, but whoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other cheek also." And again : " Put thy sword into its place, for all that take the sword shall perish by the sword." And there are similar other sayings to the same effect. The early Christian teaching was, as Prof. Nys of Belgium has so clearly described,¹ that a Christian might not only not defend himself by the use of force, but he might even not ask for the help of the law of the country to protect him against tyranny. And as Prof. Norman Bentwich has recognised : " It was the spirit of the Hebrew against the Canaanite "—and may I add, also the movement for ' back to Rome ' ?—" and not the spirit of the Christian Gospel that moved the people that in the end became masters of the Roman Empire."² Further, at the time of the formulation of the theories of Modern European International Law, Christianity lacked moral force more than ever. The papacy and clericalism had fallen into disrepute. Grotius, father of European International Law, for instance, mentions in the preface to his *De jure belli ac pacis*, (§. 28) as the occasion of his compiling that book (published 1625), that in his time the Christian nations of Europe behaved in their wars in a manner that even barbarians would be ashamed of.

To me it is unthinkable that Christianity should have provided for the necessary change while the civilised Christian nations believed till as late as 1856 that the benefits of their international law were confined to Christian nations ; and it was no philanthropic or Christian impulse but a sheer need of practical politics that led them to admit the Muslim state of Turkey in the society of the civilised nations under the treaty of 1856. Japan and other non-Christian nations had to wait still further to have the same honour. Many people cherished the same notions even much later, and in 1889, Woolsey³ still insisted that international law was what *Christian* nations recognised as obligatory in *their* mutual relations only. According to a Papal bull, the Christians were not bound by their pacts with Muslims.⁴

As Prof. Nys⁵ has vividly described, the Muslim occupation of Jerus-

1. *Les Origines du droit international*, p. 44 : " Les préceptes de renoncement prêchés par le Christ avaient été exagérés ; non seulement il avait été défendu aux fidèles de se protéger par la force, mais ils ne pouvaient même réclamer le plus légitime des appuis, ils ne pouvaient invoquer la loi de l'État."

2. *Religious Foundation of International Law*, p. 87.

3. Th. D. Woolsey, *International Law* (4th ed. New York, 1889), *in loco*, cited by A. Rechid, *op. cit.* p. 378.

4. For a long discussion and citations, cf. A. Rechid, *op. cit.* pp. 426-30.

5. *Op. cit.*, pp. 141-42.

alem, that cradle of Christianity, followed by the occupation of Alexandria and Antioch, the two seats of Patriarchs, and the repeated defeats of Christians at the hands of the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Turks and others so embittered the clergy that it led the Christian *church itself to augment the horror of war*. So much so that monks and even Popes organised crusades ; and the orders of Templars, and Hospitalers, the order of St. John and the Teutonic order and others came into being simply for the purpose of waging war against Islam.¹ Moreover, as Prof. Walker² has remarked, it was only under the stress of Muslim fear, that the Christian Europe learned for the first time during the Crusades, to unite ; and different European nations fought under the same banner, which they had never done before in spite of having embraced Christianity and recognising in the Pope their common superior.

The cultural reaction of Spain and Southern Europe and of the Crusades cannot be too strongly emphasised. But there is one more aspect which must not be neglected in this connection. The earliest European writers on international law, such as Pierre Bello, Ayala, Victoria, Gentiles and others all hailed from Spain or Italy, and they were all the product of the renaissance provoked by the impact of Islam on Christendom. Baghdād in the East and Cordova in the West stood as torch-bearers of Arabian culture, and in between lay Europe obsessed by the fear of being dominated and subdued by one or the other of the two mighty empires of the Arabs.

Luther was a profound scholar of Arabic even as several Popes and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, not to speak of innumerable commoners that flocked into Arab Universities from all parts of Europe, and studied Arab laws and culture in their curricula. It was the Latin translation of Arabic books that supplied the educational needs of Europe for centuries.

But the question remains whether the Muslims themselves had cultivated an international law ? This we have already replied to in the preceding chapters, and we know that *siyar* (international law) has ever since been taught in all Muslim schools as part of *Fiqh* or Law.

It is clear from this, that the Muslims very early developed a science of international law, and divorcing it from political science and law general, made it an independent subject. And when we study the early Arabic works on international law and allied subjects, we have a vivid idea of the relations of the Muslims and the *Rūm* (Byzantines) and others in time of war as well as peace, and we see how interaction was going on not only in the art of warfare but also in the very science of international law. In Muslim law we come, for the first time, across the full-fledged notion of recognising rights for the enemy in all times, in peace as much as in war, rights endorsed by the Qur'ān and by the practice of the Prophet and his successors. Further, it is also to be noted that books

1. Nys, *op. cit.*, p. 143 ff.

2. T. A. Walker, *A History of the Law of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 89.

on *jura belli* (laws of war) by Ayala and Victoria, Gentiles and Grotius and others have no counterpart in the Roman and Greek literatures, and they are the product of an age when European erudition was not so highly developed as to-day. To us, therefore, they are but echoes of these Arabic works on *jihād* (war) and *siyar* (conduct in time of war and peace). There must we seek for the link between the Roman and the Modern Periods, and there must we recognise the origin of the epoch-making change in the concept of international law. And we see the rôle played by Islam in the world history of international law.

CHAPTER XI

The Ethical Basis of Muslim Law

IT must have been clear from the description of the origin, sources, and aim of Muslim Law that it attaches not a small importance to ethical values. In the beginning, there was one sole science which occupied Muslim intelligentsia, that of the commands of their religion. Soon many sciences had to be cultivated, history, philology, astronomy, etc.; yet they all revolved round and were subservient to the all-embracing Qur'ān : history primarily to explain the allusions in the Holy Book, philology (including poetry) to explain the exact sense of the words used in it, astronomy and physical geography to find out the direction of the Ka'bah to turn towards, as also the timing for the daily religious services, grammar to standardise the text and diction of the Holy Writ, and so on. This Qur'ānic basis of all sciences controlled the latitude to be exercised by poets and others, and always checked and pruned the morbid growth of un-Islamic morality.

When even the branches of law, like our own subject, International Law, acquired the status of independent and full-fledged sciences, they still retained their ethical values : their provisions had to have the sanction from the Qur'ān or the *Sunnah* or the Orthodox Practice. No Muslim science was originally cultivated for its own sake, independent and regardless of others ; but all were made subservient to the *Shari'ah* in order to contribute to the well-being of man in this world as well as in the Hereafter. Without belief in Resurrection and Reckoning, man may become more devilish than the Devil ; and man without enjoyment of what God has created for him would be no man at all. The Golden Mean is the rule in Islam (خير الأمور أوسطها), and this is true of even such an overwhelmingly materialistic science as Muslim International Law. And although divorced from law general and political science, international law of Islam was not based on mere human reason to be guided by convenience but continued to retain its ethical basis of the unchangeable Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.

M. HAMIDULLAH.

(To be continued)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PHYSICIAN, AR-RĀZĪ

A recent publication of Arabic texts by Dr. Paul Kraus, Cairo

ABŪ BAKR Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā' ar-Rāzī (*Rhazes* 251/865-311/925 or 320/934) is known to the historians of medicine as the greatest clinical genius amongst the physicians of the Islamic world. His treatise on "Small-pox and Measles" is world famed; his *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fi't-Ṭibb* served, in its Latin translation, as a basis for medical education in Europe down to the XVIIth century. His *Ḥāwī fi't-Ṭibb* (*Continens Medicinæ*) is the greatest encyclopædia of therapeutics written during the Middle Ages.

As an alchemist, ar-Rāzī has been, as it were, discovered by Professor Ruska who published several of his works¹ and proved that Rāzī possessed a remarkable knowledge of the chemical properties of metals, and was more free from charlatanry and quackery than all the alchemists before and after him.

In recent years Dr. P. Kraus (Cairo) and Dr. S. Pines (Paris) have begun to investigate a hitherto unknown side of Rāzī's activity, viz., his philosophical works. They have published several preliminary studies and an article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.²

They proved that Rāzī is, in philosophy, a remarkably original and independent thinker who does not follow the trodden path of Aristotelian Logic and Metaphysics. As far as the few completely preserved books and the many fragments of Rāzī's philosophical works which have come down to us, allow of judgment, he had a strong affinity to Plato's doctrines with some inflow of earlier Greek philosophy, and he possessed an amazing knowledge of the translated Greek and of the early Arabic literature (medical as well as philosophical). His atomism, different from the theories of the *mutakallimūn*, relies on the system of Democritus. He distinguished universal or absolute space from partial and relative space.

1. J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze*, Berlin 1935.

Idem, *Die Alchemie al-Rāzī's.*, in: *Der Islam* 1935.

Idem, *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimniss der Geheimnisse*, Berlin 1935 & 1937.

2. Vol. III (Leyden-London 1936) pp. 1134-6.

Paul Kraus, *Raziana I—IV in Orientalia*.

S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1935.

Absolute space, denied by the Aristotelians, is pure extent beyond the limits of the world ; it is infinite. In the same way he differentiates absolute and limited time. Absolute time is independent, existed before the creation of the world and will exist after its destruction ; Rāzī identifies it with Eternity (in Arabic : *dahr*). He denies the possibility of a reconciliation between philosophy and religion and the value of holy scripts. Therefore he was violently attacked as a heretic.

Now, Dr. Paul Kraus, Lecturer of Semitic languages at the Faculty of Letters of the Fuad I University in Cairo (Egypt), after several years of laborious research, has brought together a collection of Arabic and Persian texts of Rāzī's philosophical writings. He published, in a first volume, under the auspices of the Faculty, eleven of these texts¹; (a second volume is to follow at the earliest occasion). It is a beautifully printed volume of 316 pages in which Dr. Kraus gives a careful edition of Arabic and some Persian texts with all the variants of the MSS. and his corrections, as well as numerous and useful footnotes. Each of the eleven texts is preceded by an introduction in which Dr. Kraus furnishes ample information about its story, its bibliography and the MSS. or printed publications forming the basis of his edition.

This useful publication allows us for the first time to gain insight into Rāzī's philosophical thought which was hitherto known only by fragments enclosed in the polemical writings of his adversaries. Even his most important biographer, the celebrated astronomer and physicist, Abu'r-Rayhān al-Bērūnī (d. 448/1050) calls him a heretic and condemns his philosophical work.² The texts throw, moreover, a little more light on the life history of the great physician of which only scanty notes have come down to us. They allow us also to judge the excellent Arabic knowledge and style of Rāzī who was a Persian-born scholar. The Persian texts are not his, but translations from his works by that famous writer who was the Ismā'īlitic propagandist, traveller and poet, Nāṣir-i-Khosraw (V/XIth century). In sum, Dr. Kraus' merit in bestowing on us this important publication is very great. And as the printing of the second volume may be delayed by the war, I thought it useful to give the gist of the first volume now in the form of the following detailed analysis.

I. *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭibb ar-ruḥānī*. (The Book of Spiritual Medicine)

This book is mentioned by most of ar-Rāzī's old bio-bibliographers (al-Bērūnī, Ibn al-Qiftī, ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, etc.) and by several modern

1. Abi-Bakr Muhammadi Filii *Zachariae Raghensis (Razis) Opera Philosophica Fragmentaque quae supersunt*, collegit et edidit Paulus Kraus. Pars. I Cahiræ 1939.

2. P. Kraus : *Épître de Bērūnī contenant le répertoire des ouvrages de Muḥammad b. Zakariyya'ar-Rāzī*, Paris 1936. German translation by J. Ruka, *Al-Bērūnī als Quelle für das Leben und die Schriften al-Rāzī's*, in *Isis* vol. V Bruges 1922, p. 46 foll.

authors (Wüstenfeld, Leclerc, Brockelmann, Ranking). De Boer has written on this book (*De Medicina Mentis*) for the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences (in 1920), and given some extracts of the text. But Dr. Kraus' edition is the first complete one.

The exact time of the composition of the book is not known, but ar-Rāzī, in his introduction, says himself that he wrote it after his return from Baghdād to Rayy, his birthplace (in Ṭabaristān, North Persia, now Mazenderān). He composed it for the same Mansūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad (governor of Rayy from 290 to 296 A.H./902-8 A.D.) to whom he had already dedicated his medical treatise *Al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fi'ṭ-Ṭibb*.

Ibn al-Jawzī has extracted passages from the book, with polemic remarks against it. The *Dā'ī ad-Du'āt* (Chief of the Ismā'īlitic Missionaries or Propagandists) Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī who lived about 400 A.H. in Cairo, wrote a detailed refutation of the book in his *Al-aqwāl adh-dhahabiyya* ("The Golden Words"), with long extracts from it. These extracts were used by Dr. Kraus to check the Arabic text, and he also gives in his notes quotations from this refutation.

Dr. Kraus edited the text based on three MSS. (British Museum, Vaticana and Cairo) the most complete and correct of which is the first ; this is in most of the doubtful passages in agreement with al-Kirmānī's quotations. As to the contents of the *Ṭibb Rūḥānī*, ar-Rāzī says in his short introduction that he wrote the book at the order of the aforementioned governor—he calls him *amīr* (prince)—as a counterpart to the *K. al-Manṣūrī fi'ṭ-Ṭibb*. He then gives the index of the twenty chapters.

CHAPTER 1.—*On the Excellence of Reason and its Praise.*

Reason is the most valuable gift of God ; by it we are distinguished from the animals which have to serve us. By reason mankind invented navigation, medicine and astronomy and came to recognise the existence of the Creator ; to know what is useful to our body, to have insight into the structure of the world, etc. Reason is in opposition to passion which must not gain preponderance in our souls.

CHAPTER 2.—*On the Fight against Passion, its Suppression, and a Summary of the Opinions of Plato, the Sage.*

The aim of the spiritual medicine is the improvement of the character ; its basic principle is the fight against passion and its submission to reason. The will to achieve this aim has been bestowed on man in different degrees ; it is not so in animals and young children. He, who is best able to dominate his passions, is the philosopher. Passion incites man to pleasure and to forget the evil consequences of his doings ; the danger of habit is

great. Even those among the philosophers who do not believe in a separate existence of the soul are of this opinion. Rāzī then discusses the real meaning of pleasure and satisfaction of desire, and at the end the Platonic psychology with its distinction of the reasonable soul, the soul of wrath and the soul of desire.

CHAPTER 3.—*Preliminary Remarks on the Different Forms of Evil which befall the Soul.*

A short chapter, occupying half a printed page only.

CHAPTER 4.—*That the Man must Recognise his own Faults.*

Following a (lost) pamphlet of Galen, "That Just People take Profit from their Enemies"—composed on the model of a similar writing by Plutarchus—Rāzī gives advice not to pay attention to the criticism of friends alone, but also to that of enemies, in order to fight against bad qualities of the character.

CHAPTER 5.—*On Love and Friendship with a Summary on Pleasure.*

A short discussion of the theory of physiology of pleasure (of which Rāzī treats in detail in his work following hereafter as no. VI) and its application to lovers. They have, by their exclusive attachment to the subject of love, a disadvantage in comparison with animals who may satisfy their concupiscence without any restriction. They abuse the reason bestowed upon them by the Lord; love often is followed by insanity, in the case of the loss of the beloved one. Example taken from Plato (but not known in the Greek texts). Then follow polemic remarks against contemporary men of letters who pretend that love is a sign of refined culture and sensitiveness. Rāzī maintains the opinion that refined culture is to be found only in philosophers, love in uncivilized Arabs, Kurds, Nabatians and Barbarians. The Greeks who were the most civilised people on the earth did not occupy themselves much with love. Poetry and science are nothing without philosophy and wisdom. Literality and dilettantism, so common amongst the educated people of the Islamic world, are without value. The literary men pretend that the prophets had been great lovers, but Rāzī declines to accept such prophets.

CHAPTER 6.—*On Vanity.*

Vanity is self-conceit; it prevents man from making efforts in continuing to promote his studies.

CHAPTER 7.—*On Envy.*

This is originated from cupidity and avarice together. Enviousness is mostly directed against friends and acquaintances. Therefore a foreign tyrannic ruler is often more appreciated than the indigenous sovereign who is exposed to the envy of his countrymen, even if he is much more just and righteous. Rāzī then insists on the evil physiological and psychological consequences of enviousness. To fight this vice, one has to be content with one's own possessions.

CHAPTER 8.—*On Fighting Wrath.*

Wrath is more harmful to the choleric than to the person who is its object. Rāzī gives examples from his personal experience, *e.g.*, when a man shouted so strongly in an excess of fury, that he got a hæmoptysis and died from phthisis. He also quotes an anecdote on the mother of Galen, the celebrated Greek physician. Rāzī then gives advice on avoiding the bad consequences of revenge.

CHAPTER 9.—*On Fighting Lies.*

The psychological cause of the lie is the desire to be appreciated. Discussion of the different kinds of lies and anecdotes illustrating them.

CHAPTER 10.—*On Avarice.*

Rāzī explains the difference between avarice and economy and relates his conversation with a miser about the causes of his attitude.

CHAPTER 11.—*On the Struggle against the Harm of Excessive Thought and Reflection.*

Rāzī advises the avoidance of excessive thought, because it is harmful to the soul ; it is better to give up oneself to recreation and joy in order to be sheltered against sorrow. Even the student of philosophy must not exaggerate ; he, who would try to learn within one year the philosophy of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Eudemus, Chrysippus, Themistius and Alexander (of Aphrodisias), would work himself to death or become insane. On the other hand, philosophy must not be studied as a simple pastime for leisure hours.

CHAPTER 12.—*On the Struggle against Grief.*

Too great a grief is harmful to the reason, the soul and the body. It is the excessive attachment to things which one loves, and those who possess many beloved things are exposed so much more to sorrows. The real sage must not attach himself to the perishable things of this world. The affliction of him who has no children is less than that of a person who has lost a child. The delight at the possession of a beloved being is in no proportion to the grief over his loss. Rāzī here gives some examples, and recalls his doctrine of pleasure (*hédone* of the Greeks). One must keep one's mind independent without becoming an ascetic. In this world all is perishable, even the greatest joy, so we have to be grateful for our own share of joy. Grief and complaint mean a downfall into passion. Time brings consolation ; one must reflect upon the causes of one's affliction in order to get rid of it.

CHAPTER 13.—*On Concupiscence.*

Its cause is the prevalence of the concupiscent soul (called in Greek *psyché epithymétiké*) which escapes from the control of the reasonable soul (*psyché logiké*). Rāzī illustrates his sayings by an anecdote on gluttony and his personal experience with a glutton in Baghdād. The answer of an ancient philosopher to a person who wondered about the paucity of his meal was : " I eat in order to live, and you live in order to eat ! "

CHAPTER 14.—*On Drunkenness.*

The consequences of drunkenness are dangerous, as it strengthens the concupiscent soul and the irascible (choleric) soul, and weakens the reasonable soul. Drinking is advisable only to fight grief and to stimulate courage.

CHAPTER 15.—*On Sexual Intercourse.*

Discussion of its physiological and psychological consequences. Exaggeration is harmful, as the man is neither a he-goat nor a bull. What is natural in animals is against nature in man.

CHAPTER 16.—*On Constrained Actions, on Playfulness and Bad Habits.*

They are to be suppressed with the help of the irascible soul. Rāzī then writes against the exaggeration of the religious ablutions. Dr. Kraus found this passage greatly abridged in two of the MSS., because it is contrary to the Islamic ritual.

CHAPTER 17.—*On Acquirement, Receipts and Expenditure.*

A discussion of mutual help in the human society. Every profession profits from the others. Exaggeration of acquirement is harmful ; it is better to acquire only what is useful for one's self and one's fellow citizens. It is better to acquire technical skill than material goods. Then follows an illustrating anecdote.

CHAPTER 18.—*On Longing after Rank and Social Station.*

Partly a repetition of ideas expressed in former chapters. Reason will prevent desire for wordly honours and ranks which do not attract philosophers.

CHAPTER 19.—*On the Best Conduct of Life.*

The best conduct is that of the philosopher who follows reason and struggles against passion. Bad religions and legislations incite the majority of men to an inferior, nay criminal behaviour, like that of the Daysonites (Bardesanes) and of the Muḥammira (Bābak), of the Manichaeans and other religious sects and dissidents. The best conduct of life is justness and avoiding quarrels with fellow citizens. By good advice and charity one will acquire the love and esteem of one's contemporaries.

CHAPTER 20.—*On the Fear of Death.*

Rāzī does not intend to discuss here the question of immortality of the soul which had been taught by many religions and philosophers. He declares the fear of death to be nonsensical. As in Rāzī's mind pleasure is nothing but the return of the normal condition of rest, so doubtlessly the eternal rest of death is preferable to life with its continuous change of pleasure and affliction. He, who fears death, does not die one, but many deaths. He, who believes in life in another world and retaliation, has still less reasons to fear death, presuming that he has the right conduct in this life.

After this probably greatest of Rāzī's philosophical works, Dr. Kraus edited a short treatise entitled :

II. *Kitāb as-Sira al Falsafiyya* (The Book of the Philosophical Conduct of Life).

Dr. Kraus had published the Arabic text with an introduction and a French translation in his *Raziana I* in *Orientalia*, NS., vol. IV (Rome 1935) pp. 300-334. The present edition is an improved publication of the text, based on the unique MS. in the British Museum (Add. 7473 foll. 1B-5B).

In spite of its conciseness, this book is of the highest interest for the knowledge of Rāzī's personality. It is, as explained by Dr. Kraus, not only an exposé of Rāzī's ethical ideal, but an apology of his life in face of the attacks of his adversaries, who denied him the right to call himself a philosopher. Rāzī answers in full consciousness of his value as a pupil of the ancient Greek philosophers and physicians. According to Dr. Kraus who extracted a passage from Abū Ḥatim's *A'lām an-nubuwwa*, Rāzī felt himself to be in medicine an emulation of Hippocrates, in philosophy an imitation of Socrates in his later years. For, curiously enough, the Islamic tradition had formed an image of a Socrates, hostile to the society and had confused this picture with that of Diogenes ; alleging that Socrates had lived in a barrel in the desert, detested the consumption of meat and wine and so on, and preaching a kind of nihilism.

In his treatise, Rāzī begins refuting the attacks of his adversaries on the conduct of his ideal, Socrates, attributing this mode of existence to the first period of Socrates' life. But in his later life, Rāzī pretends that Socrates had fought for his home town, procreated children and followed the way of a real philosopher. Rāzī refers himself to his former writings, especially the "Spiritual Medicine" and then gives six maxims :

1. We have to expect, after our death, for our souls a state of happiness or unhappiness, according to our conduct in this world.
2. The aim for which we are created is not wholly pleasure, but acquisition of knowledge and practical justice : this will lead to a world where death and pain are unknown.
3. Nature and passion push us to worldly pleasure, but the intelligence must teach us to resist in favour of more important subjects.
4. Our Lord abominates injustice and ignorance and likes justice and knowledge. He will punish those who cause grief and pain.
5. We must not stand pain, hoping for a pleasure which surpasses in quantity and quality this pain.
6. The Creator has bestowed on us necessary things, like tillage and weaving and others by which the existence of mankind and the earning of its life is granted.

Rāzī then develops three maxims in detail. He condemns the ascetism of the Hindus, Manichæans and Christian monachism. Although an adherent of the metempsychosis creed, Rāzī admits the killing of noxious and dangerous animals, and a certain consumption of meat. He finishes by the sentence : "Philosophy is the imitation of God, the Exalted One, as far as it is possible to a human being." For details of the philosophical conduct of life, he again refers to his "Spiritual Medicine."

In the last section of his treatise—which is the most interesting part of it—Rāzī defends himself with vigour against the allegation of his adversaries that he did not deserve the title of a philosopher. On the theoretical point of view, he points out the great number of his scientific books

(about 200) which he had composed ; philosophical, physical, medical and alchemical works. He mentions that he had no time to perfect himself in mathematics. We learn on this occasion, that he had devoted fifteen years of his life to the completion of his greatest medical work, "*The Summary*" (*Al Jāmi'* better known as *Al-Hāwī fi't-Tibb*, in Latin, *Continens Medicinæ*) so that he had lost the use of his eyes and of his right hand ; he was in need of a secretary for reading and writing. Thus it is evident that he had written his "*Philosophical Conduct of Life*" in his old age.

On the practical point of view, Rāzī explains that he well merits the name of a philosopher. He does not live at the court of his sovereign as a soldier or official, but as his medical and ethical adviser ; that he avoided exaggeration in his mode of life and that he took interest in all scientific books and men besides his own literary activity. He asks, in conclusion, his adversaries to specify their conception of the conduct of the philosopher, in order to discuss it with them.

III. *Maqāla fīmā ba'd aṭ-ṭabī'a* (Discourse on Metaphysics)

This is a fragment of a small work whose beginning and ending are missing. Dr. Kraus was obliged to establish the text from a unique and not faultless MS. in the Rāghib Pāshā Library (No. 1463) in Istānbul. There is no doubt about the authenticity of this discourse, as the author quotes it in his book, "*On the Doubts against Proclus*," which is known to be a work of ar-Rāzī. The *Maqāla* may be a fragment of Rāzī's lecture on physics, *Sam'al-Kiyān* or from his book *Fī ārā aṭ-ṭabī'iyya* (" On the Opinions of the Physicists").

The contents of this fragment are the discussion of certain questions of the Greek Physics in an aphoristic form, the criticism of doctrines without giving Rāzī's own opinion, and dialectics, e.g., he puts the questions : What is the *Physics* (nature) of the Greeks ? How does it act in the material world ? Exemplification from the formation and growth of the embryo and of plants. Discussion of the ancient opinions on the eternity of the celestial bodies and the universe and of the unlimited duration of movement, time and (empty) space. All this is criticised by Rāzī in a negative sense ; but he does not reveal, in this fragment at least, his own standpoint.

The main interest of this fragment lies in the great number of quotations from ancient and early Arabic authors. Besides quotations of well-known sentences from Hippocrates, Galen and Alexander of Aphrodisias, we find an unknown aphorism of Aristotle : " He says that Nature has been endowed with wisdom on behalf of the soul which is dispersed in the world." Rāzī answers : " This is a myth !" He then quotes Plotinus, Joannes Philoponus (in Arabic *Yahyā an-Naḥwī*) from Proclus' book, "*On the Eternity of the World*," the Rhetorician Antiphon from one of Philoponus' commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* ; Porphyrius from his lost

commentary on the same, the astronomer Seleucus according to the *Placita* of Plutarchus ; but this latter quotation cannot be identified ; and so on. He goes on to quote a metaphysical and physical work of Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī, " the philosopher of the Arabs," a work that has not come down to us ; sentences from an unknown philosophical work of the great Šābian astronomer and mathematician, Thābit ibn Qurra, and of the Šābian translator, Abū Hilāl al-Himšī (whose son, Hilāl, translated the conical sections of Apollonius). In all this Rāzī's knowledge of the ancient literature is amazing.

IV. *Maqāla fī amārāt al-iqbāl wa'd-dawla* (Discourse on the Signs of the Chances of Fortune)

A short irregularly written pamphlet of three pages. It is mentioned by al-Bērūnī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a. Edited by Dr. Kraus from the MS. 1463, Rāghib Pāshā (Istānbul). It contains an enumeration of signs of lucky chances for the use of princes ; it recalls al-Kindī's *Fī Mulk al-'Arab wa-kammiyatih* (" On the Reign of the Arabs and its Duration").

V. *Min Kitāb al-ladhdha* (From the Book of Lust)

Dr. Kraus, in his introduction, informs us that this book is lost, although it was widely known and influential in the Islamic world. He was obliged to pick out small fragments of it from the works of various authors. It is a psycho-and physiological analysis of lust, a theme which was treated by ar-Rāzī also in some of his other works (e.g., in *Ṭibb rūhānī* and *Sīra falsafiyya*). Rāzī shows in this book a strong Platonic trend. He must have been acquainted with Plato's *Timæus* and *Philebus*, probably by Galen's paraphrase. Rāzī was considered, on account of the opinions expressed in this work, as an Epicurean or Hēdōnist (later Arabic authors e.g., Ibn al-Qiftī, confused Epicurus and Pyrrho, the founder of the Sceptical school).

The main doctrine of ar-Rāzī is that pleasure is the giving up of a non-natural condition, pain (*alam*) the giving up of natural condition. Rest (*rāḥa*) is intermediate between the two and is not pleasure.

Dr. Kraus edited fragments of the *K. al-ladhdha* from works of Šadr-ad-Dīn Shīrāzī, Naṣir ad-Dīn Ṭūsī and his commentator, Qūshajī. Mentions of the book are found in writings of Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī, Miskawayh, Ibn al-Haytham and the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*. The bibliographies (*Fihrist*, al-Bērūnī, etc.) moreover, quote another book of Rāzī, " *On the Discussions on Lust which took place between him and Shāhīd al-Balkhī*." The latter, one of the oldest Persian poets and philosophers, a contemporary of Rāzī, is mentioned in Abū Sulaymān al-Mantīqī's *Siwān al-Ḥikma* where a long extract from Al-Balkhī's book, " *On Lust*," is quoted.

Last and not least, Dr. Kraus found in Nāṣir-i-Khosraw's famous *Zād-al-Musāfirīn* long extracts from Rāzī's book, giving a detailed analysis of its contents; but in Persian translation. He printed these extracts and has taken pains to re-translate them into Arabic. Then follows Nāṣir-i-Khosraw's Persian refutation of Rāzī's book.

VI. *Min Kitāb al-'ilm al-ilāhī.* (From the Book of the Theological Science).

This book, also lost, is known by the refutations written by a series of prominent authors who all charged ar-Rāzī with heresy. Fragments are quoted and collected by Dr. Kraus from al-Fārābī, al-Mas'ūdī, 'Alī al-Jūzjānī, Ibn al-Haytham, Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Riḍwān, Nāṣir-i-Khosraw and Maimonides. Dr. Kraus has edited thirteen extracts from these authors in order to give an idea of the contents of Rāzī's book.

The main themes discussed are : metempsychosis, the empty space, a violent criticism of prophecy and the prophetic mission, and a pessimistic outlook on the doctrine of lust (according to Maimonides : the amount of pain in the world is greater than that of pleasure).

Dr. Kraus attracts attention to the fact that this book shows evident literary affinities to the Pythagorean tradition, pronouncedly anti-Aristotelian, and not without some Ṣābian-Harrānian and Manichæan dualistic trend. Then follows a discussion of Rāzī's fundamental doctrine of the five eternal principles or elements, of which he treats *in extenso* in the following chapter, (No. VII). He supports this doctrine by pretended Manichæan and Zoroastrian ideas. Discussion of the authentic scripts of Mānī, with magic and alchemistic influences. Al-Mas'ūdī had seen Rāzī's book about 310 A.H.

VII. *Al-qawl fi'l-qudamā al khamṣa* (The Discourse on the Five Eternal Elements)

This is a fragment, and in Dr. Kraus' opinion, it is together with the three following fragments (VIII-X), doubtlessly extracted from the aforementioned *K. al 'ilm al-ilāhī*.

According to ar-Rāzī, the five eternal principles are : the Creator, the soul, the matter (*hayūlā* = Greek *hylē*), the space and time. Certain Arabo-Persian authors (Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī, Ṭūsī and Shahrastānī) ascribe this doctrine to the Ṣābians of Harrān, and they pretend that their terms in exposing it, were the same as those of which ar-Rāzī made use. But this does not mean that he borrowed his doctrine from the Harrānians. According to Kraus it was Massignon who found out for the first time that the Harrānian literature was a literary romance, the development of which had been promoted by several early Islamic philosophers : e.g., Abū Sahl

al-Balkhī, Abu't-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī (a disciple of al-Kindī), and the doubtfully renowned Ibn Wahshiyya. Ar-Rāzī belongs to this group, and it is easy to follow the development of the romance in his case. Firstly, the attribution of the doctrine of the five eternal principles to the Ḥarrānians is stated exclusively in the works of later authors who were well acquainted with Rāzī's writings. Secondly, Rāzī himself, in his *K. al-'ilm al-ilāhī* expressly ascribed his doctrine to the Ḥarrānians. He pretends, in other scripts, this doctrine to be that of the pre-Socrates, repeated by Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato and the old natural philosophers. All these authorities are cited in the Ḥarrānian writings.

As a result of this agreement, Dr. Kraus thinks that Rāzī, in order to cover his heretic doctrine by a very old authority, did not ascribe it to the Ḥarrānians of the III / IXth century, his immediate predecessors, but to the ancient Greek sources of the Ḥarrānian knowledge. By doing this, Rāzī becomes himself one of the main promoters of the Ṣābian (Ḥarrānian) romance or legend. In the same manner, says Dr. Kraus, the heretic Ibn ar-Rāwandī made use of a literary legend, viz., ascribing his bold attacks on the religions of revelation to Indian Brahmans, which is an impossible allegation.

For us, the main sources of the knowledge of Rāzī's doctrine of the five eternal principles are of al-Bērūnī, Ibn Taimiyya, Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī and his commentator, Najm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī and especially the *Kitāb al-azmina w'al-amkina* of Aḥmad al-Mazūqī (d. 421 A.H.) who rendered in detail Rāzī's doctrine of the eternity, of time, (empty) space, and of the descent of the soul into matter.

VIII. *Al qawl fi'l-hayūlā* (The Discourse on Matter)

This book was mentioned by al-Bērūnī and, under various titles, by the Arabic bibliographers. Dr. Kraus gives extracts from Nāṣir-i-*Khosraw's* Persian rendering of Rāzī's doctrine (which he has retranslated into Arabic), appending Nāṣir's refutation. It is a Democritic-atomistic interpretation of Plato's doctrine (in his *Timæus*) of the space (Greek *chora*). This doctrine has been commented in detail by Dr. S. Pines in his aforementioned German book on the atomistic doctrine in the Muslim world.

IX. *Al qawl fi'l makān wa'z-zamān* (The Discourse on Place and Time)

In this work, of which only fragments remain, Rāzī is in sharp opposition to Aristotle, because he admits, besides the place (*makān juz'ī*) i.e., the surface of a given body, the unlimited empty space ; following in this Democritus and Plato. In the same way, he is opposed to the Aristotelian conception of time, i.e., the succession of "nows," the Platonic idea of eternity (Greek *aión*, Arabic *dahr*). The main sources of our knowledge

of this doctrine of Rāzī are Ibn Ḥazm, Nāṣir-i-Khosraw and Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī in his most mature philosophical work, *Al-maṭālib al-ʿāliya*; Dr. Kraus reproduces the relative passages from the works of these three authors, rendering in Arabic the Persian text of Nāṣir-i-Khosraw.

X. *Al-qawl fi'n-nafs wa'l-'ālam* (The Discourse on the Soul and the [Creation of the] World)

Dr. Kraus explains that Rāzī's ideas in this (lost) book treating of the longing of the soul of the universe for the matter, and its descent into it, doubtlessly witnesses a gnostic trend. It represents, in Rāzī's mind a kind of Platonic myth which is apt to make understandable, although not to explain in full, the creation of the world. This is a point in Rāzī's metaphysics in which he finds himself in agreement with the religions of revelation, and so with the representatives of the Islamic orthodoxy. Rāzī does not hesitate to pretend that his doctrine is the only proof to defeat the supporters of the eternity of the world (*ad-Dahriyya*), viz., the Aristotelians.

XI. *Al-munāzarāt bayn Abī Ḥātim ar-Rāzī wa-Abī Bakr ar-Rāzī* (The Discussions between Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī and Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī)

This discussion took place at Rayy (Ṭabaristān, North Persia) the birthplace of the two Rāzīs. Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān ar-Rāzī was an Ismā'īlitic *dā'i* (missionary, propagandist) who died in 322 A.H. some years after Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī. This latter is said by al-Bērūnī to have died in 311 A.H. but as the aforementioned discussion took place in the presence of the general Mardāwīj, who had conquered Rayy in 317, Abū Bakr must have lived after this year. The text of the discussion is to be found in Abū Ḥātim's book, *A'lām an-nubuwwa* which is not printed, but of which several MSS. exist in India. Dr. Kraus edited the text of the discussion—which forms the introduction to Abū Ḥātim's book—mainly from a MS. belonging to and graciously lent by Dr. Ḥusayn al-Ḥamdānī (of Bombay).

The following are the themes of the discussion :

1. The criticism of Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī against the religions of revelation and his negation of the necessity of prophecy. He alleges that the prophets and the controversies between the religions are the main causes of wars and of the misery of mankind. (In this he foreshadows the French Era of Enlightenment).

He criticises with particular severity the Shī'ite doctrine of the Imāms and the blind acceptance of their authority preached by the Ismā'īlitic propagandists.

2. Rāzī's doctrine of progress : the fact that there exist contradictions between the doctrines of philosophers and learned men is not an argument against philosophical and scientific investigation. On the other hand, he pretends that the contradictions existing between the religions provoke the abolition of religious truth. On the contrary, if a later philosopher or learned man contradicts one of his earlier predecessors, he does it in the interest of the eternal progress of the science. Perhaps none of us possess the entire truth, but it is our duty to promote, as far as possible philosophical and scientific investigation ; we are always following the path to truth. The ancient philosophers and other thinkers possibly were more important and greater than we are, but nevertheless we can improve their results by our own investigations (like dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants, being enabled to look more far away).

3. A detailed discussion on Rāzī's doctrine of the five eternal principles, especially on space, time, and the descent of the soul into matter. It ends by a curious discussion of the three kinds of movement (natural, by constraint and involuntary).

At the end Dr. Kraus reproduces another refutation of Rāzī's arguments by the aforementioned Ismā'īlite, Aḥmad al-Kirmānī in his book, *Al-aqwāl adh-dhahabiyya*.

Here ends the first volume ; in a second one, Dr. Kraus intends to publish a series of philosophical writings and fragments of Rāzī's, with a biography and indexes. He prepares, also, a survey of Rāzī's philosophy in a European language.

DR. MAX MEYERHOF.

THE JEWISH DEBT TO ARABIC WRITERS ON MUSIC

“ What saith the science of music among the Christians ?
‘ I was assuredly stolen out of the land of the Hebrews.’ ”

IMMANUEL BEN SOLOMON : *Mehabberot*, XXVI, 16.

WHETHER it is the art or the science of music to which Immanuel ben Solomon (d. ca. 731 A.H./1330 A.D.) refers in his *Mehabberot*, there is little concrete evidence that the Christians stole or borrowed either from the Jews. It is true that some musicographers have endeavoured to prove that the early music of the Christian Church is of Jewish origin and that source of the *neume* is to be sought in the Hebrew *ne'imah*, but, however shadowy these claims may be, which primarily concern the *art* of music, it is quite certain that, in the *science* of music, the Christians owe nothing to the Jews of the Middle Ages. Yet perhaps we ought to consider the lines of the Jewish fabulist as a mere poetic licence rather than a racial vaunt and be sufficiently indulgent to view the statement in the light that the Jewish author was more concerned with pleasing a generous patron with a reminiscence of *Genesis*, XL, 15, than with veracity.

The truth is that during the early Middle Ages, the Jews derived all that they knew in the *quadrivium* or *mathesis* from Arabic writers, and during the late Middle Ages from Christian scholars. Although, as I have already shown elsewhere,¹ the Jews made the theory or science of music one of the prescribed subjects of study from the time of Isaac Israeli (d. c. 320 A.H./932 A.D.), yet during this period they did not produce a solitary writer of any originality on the subject. Indeed, one has but to turn to Moritz Steinschneider's *Jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters* to realize how little this field was cultivated by the Jews,² and even what has been preserved of these Jewish writings eloquently testify that they are direct or indirect borrowings. What was “ borrowed ” from Arabic sources we shall see.

The first of the Jewish writers who can be called a *musta'ir* is Sa'adya Gaon (d. c. 331 A.H./942 A.D.). In the tenth chapter of his *Kitāb al-amānāt* there is a section dealing with the influence of music on the soul of man. Sa'adya comes to deal with this subject in his treatment of sense impressions in which he selects sight, hearing and smell for his purpose.

1. *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* (1933), pp. 870-1.

2. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xvii (1905), pp. 559-61.

In ignoring taste and touch, he follows Al-Kindī (d. c. 258 A.H./870 A.D.), called "the philosopher of the Arabs," and we can place our finger on the identical work from which Sa'adya borrowed.

Sa'adya begins with the sense of sight and argues that single colours do not produce a beneficial effect on the soul, whereas a mixture of colours is not only pleasing to the eye but is stimulating to the soul. Passing to the sense of hearing he endeavours to show a similar result, i.e., that the reiteration of a note of the same pitch, or a beat of the same measure, creates monotony, whereas a combination of notes differently pitched, or beats differently measured, creates an agreeable effect on the soul. He then proceeds to describe the eight rhythmic modes together with the corresponding *ethos*,¹ all of which, as I pointed out many years ago,² is derived from an Arabic source, and is to be found in the *Ṛisāla fī ajzā' khabariyāt al-mūsīqī* of Al-Kindī, the exemplar of which is in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.³

The next Jewish writer on the theory of music is Abraham bar Ḥiyya (d. c. 533 A.H./1136 A.D.). He was the author of a treatise entitled the *Yesode ha-tebunah* which is supposed to have dealt with arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy and music. It only survives in fragments, unless the *Hibbur ha-meshihah*, a work on geometry, is part of this treatise. The latter work shows its dependence on Arabic geometers, and perhaps the section on music was similarly dependent. In the Vatican (400,5) there is a manuscript on music attributed to him, but it has not yet been critically scrutinized, although it is said to be a translation from an Arabic original.⁴ In his *Megillat ha-megalleh*, this author quotes from Sa'adya on music.

In Joseph ibn 'Aqnīn (d. 625 A.H./1226 A.D.), we see this dependence on Arabic works very clearly. In his *Ṭabb al-nufūs*, Ibn 'Aqnīn deals with arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, music and statics. The Arabic works, recommended for study, are the *Kitāb fī'l-uṣūl* (Elements) of Euclid, and the *Kitāb al-arithmāṭiqī* of Nicomachus, the *Kitāb al-akkār* (Spherics) of Theodosius, the *Kitāb fī'l-ashkāl al-karī* (Spherics) of Menelaus, the *Kitāb fī'l-kura wa'l-ustuwāna* (Sphere and Cylinder) of Archimedes, the *Kitāb al-makhrūtāt* (Conic Sections) of Apollonius, the *Kitāb fī'l-a'dād al-mutaḥabba* of Thābit ibn Qurra, the *Istikmāl* of Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin ibn Hūd, the *Taḥrīr al-manāẓir* (Optics) of Ibn al-Haiṭham (which he says is to be preferred to the *Optica* of Pseudo-Euclid), the *Almajistī* of Ptolemy, and the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* (Mechanics) of the Banū Mūsā ibn Shākīr. For the theory of music, he recommends "the Book of Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī]," by which he must mean the *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*, the greatest work on the theory of music which had been published up to the fourth century of the *Hijra*.

1. *Kitāb al-amānāt*, ed. S. Landauer (Leyden, 1880), p. 317.

2. Farmer, *Arabian Influence on Musical Theory* (London, 1925), p. 12.

3. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, 5503.

4. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (London, 1857), p. 337.

In the section on music, Ibn 'Aqnīn divides the subject into two parts. The first part is a verbal reproduction of the chapter on music from Al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, but without precise acknowledgement. The second part is a mere appreciation of music with quotations from the Old Testament and the Talmud.

The *Ṭabb al-nufūs* of Ibn 'Aqnīn demonstrates very obviously how great was the debt of the Jews to Arabic literature in the *disciplinæ*, and in the theory of music as much as in any other sphere for, as Steinschneider remarks,¹ "the theory and expression of music . . . belongs, like all similar sciences, originally to the Arabian school." Indeed, it was in Arabic translation that the Jews could read the works of the great Greek writers on music, *viz.*, Aristotle, Aristoxenus, Euclid, Nicomachus, Ptolemy and Aristides Quintilianus, who had been known in this language since the third century of the *Hijra*. These treatises had been of the utmost importance to such Arabic theorists as Al-Kindī (d. c. 258 A.H./870 A.D.), Al-Sarakhsī (d. 286 A.H./899 A.D.), Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 289 A.H./901 A.D.), Al-Fārābī (d. c. 339 A.H./950 A.D.), Abu'l-Wafā' al-Būzjānī (d. 388 A.H./899 A.D.), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428 A.H./1037 A.D.), Ibn al-Haitham (d. 430 A.H./1038 A.D.), Abu'l-Šalt Umayya (d. 529 A.H./1134 A.D.), Ibn Bājja (d. 533 A.H./1138 A.D.), and Ibn Rushd (d. 595 A.H./1198 A.D.), whose writings had a deep influence not only in Jewry but on Christian Europe.²

It is worthy of note that whilst Arabic-speaking peoples had access to the ancient Greek writers on music in Arabic translation, the latter were unknown in either Hebrew or Latin. It is true that Jehūdah al-Ḥarizi had issued his *Sefer musre ha-philosophim* somewhere about the year 600 A.H./1203 A.D., but the work does not deal with theory but with the opinions of the Greek philosophers on music.³ He translated it from the Arabic of Hunain ibn Ishāq (d. 260 A.H./873 A.D.) whose work, the *Ādāb al-falāsifa*, was derived from Greek sources.

In Western Europe, the Jews appear to have been as much interested in music theory as in the East, and in the *Yair netib* of Jehūda ben Samuel ibn 'Abbās (7th cent. A.H.) music is classed with arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and optics among the disciplines. Unfortunately, whilst the textbooks for the other sciences in the works of Ibn al-Haitham, Al-Farghānī, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārizmī, Abraham bar Ḥiyya and Abraham ben Ezra are mentioned, the guides to the theory of music are omitted, although the *Ṭabb al-nufūs* of Ibn 'Aqnīn is quoted elsewhere.⁴

Another Spanish Jew, Shem Tob ben Joseph Falaquera (d. c. 689 A.H./1300 A.D.), the author of the *Iggeret ha-wikkuaḥ* and the *Reshit ḥokmah*,

1. Steinschneider, *Jew. Lit.*, p. 154.

2. Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London, 1930), pp. 11-20, 25-38.

3. Löwenthal, *Sinnsprüche der Philosophen* (Berlin, 1896), pp. 76-86.

4. Gödemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arabischen Periode*, (Vienna, 1873),

shows that the sequence of study was arithmetic, geometry, optics, music and astronomy,¹ whilst the Italian Jew, Immanuel ben Solomon (d. c. 731 A.H./1330 A.D.) makes arithmetic, geometry, music, mechanics, optics and astronomy the appropriate order.² Yet in spite of this, there is but one instance of a Jewish writer on the theory of music and that is Levi ben Gershon (d. 745 A.H./1344 A.D.). He is the famous Gersonides or Magister Leo Hebraeus of the Middle Ages. In the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale there is a manuscript (*Fonds Colbert*, 7378 A) containing a short *tractatus armonicus* from his pen, which states that it was written at the request of the music theorist, Philip of Vitry.³ The present writer has not seen the work in question, but that it was not included by Coussemaker in his *Scriptores de Musica medii ævi* (1864-76 A.D.) leads one to assume that it is of little importance.

If the Jews did not produce much, or any, original work on the theory of music, they did at least offer Hebrew translations from Arabic works or compends of the same, as well as assisting Christian scholars in translating Arabic works into Latin. In the year 683-4 of the *Hijra* (1284 A.D.) a Spanish Jew, Sarahya ben Isaac translated the Arabic *Kitāb al-nafs* (= *De anima* of Aristotle) into Hebrew, although it has to be said that this work was prompted because of its philosophic interest rather than because it contained Aristotle's treatment of the physical bases of sound. Incidentally, the Jews already knew the substance of it in Hebrew because Moses ibn Tibbon (*fl.* 638-82 A.H./1240-83 A.D.) had translated from the Arabic Ibn Rushd's great commentary on *De anima* as the *Kelale sefer ha-nefesh* in 641-2 A.H./1244 A.D., and his middle commentary as the *Bi'ur sefer ha-nefesh* in 660-1 A.H./1261 A.D., although Shem Tob ben Isaac had already issued the latter in 652 A.H./1254 A.D.

The only other work of Greek origin possibly known in Hebrew, was the *Sectio canonis* of Euclid. This was already current in Arabic,⁴ and commentaries on it had been made by Al-Kindī and Ibn al-Haitham.⁵ It was one of these sources which was the *fons et origo* of the Hebrew treatise '*Al ha-qanun* written by Isaiah ben Isaac and printed in Eisig Graeber's periodical, *Beth oẓar ha-sefarot*.⁶

Of the great Arabic theorists, who were known in Hebrew, we have little evidence. In the year 713-14 A.H./1314 A.D., Kalonymus ben Kalonymus ben Meir of Arles translated Al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* into Hebrew under the title of *Ma'amar be mispar ha-ḥokmot*. It was the section on music in this work which Ibn 'Aqnīn had "borrowed" in his *Ṭabb*

1. Gödemann, *Das judische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-Arabischen Period.* (Vienna, 1873), p. 157.

2. Gödemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien*, (Vienna, 1884), p. 124.

3. Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen-âge* (1852) p. 214: *Scriptores de Musica* (1869), iii, pp. x-xi.

4. Al-fihrist (Leipzig, 187-2), p. 266.

5. Farmer, *Sources of Arabian Music* (Glasgow, 1940), pp. 20, 142.

6. Przemsyl, 1887, xxxi.

al-nufūs. Ibn Sinā's *Kitāb al-najāt* was partly rendered into Hebrew by Todros Todrosi of Arles in the early eighth century of the *Hijra*. The physical and metaphysical portions are still extant under this translator's name and it is highly probable that the work on music among the Hebrew manuscripts at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (2482), is based on the section on music from the treatise of Ibn Sinā. It is possible also that the *Risāla fi'l-mūsīqī* of Abu'l-Šalt Umayya was known in Hebrew since it is quoted from by Profiat Duran in his *Ma'aseh efod* written in 805-6 A.H./1403 A.D., hence perhaps, as Steinschneider says,¹ the original was supposed to exist in the Oratory.²

The last of the "borrowers" to be dealt with comes from the East. In 1350-1 A.H./1932 A.D. the late Professor Richard Gottheil brought forward a Genizah fragment dealing for the greater part with music in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.³ The professor acknowledged that, although the work was written in the Hebrew script, the language was Arabic and that there was nothing Jewish in it. Still it carried the name of the scribe, a certain Ša'īd b. Da'ūd al-Yamanī, and the date 1774 of the Greek Era, i.e., 867-8 A.H., but he could not trace the author. Now this Ša'īd was the notorious individual who had passed off, under his own name, a work entitled the *Zakāt al-nufūs* which he had brazenly copied word for word from the *Maqāšid al-falāsifa* of Al-Ğhazālī. In the present case, the work, which he circulated, was taken from a compendium of the sciences written by Ibn al-Akfānī entitled *Al-durr al-naẓīm*.⁴

None of these "borrowers" appears to have been found out in his own time. The views of the philosophers on the soul which Jehudah ha-Levi (d. c. 535 A.H./1140 A.D.) introduced into his *Kuzari*, was not discovered as a verbal borrowing from Ibn Sinā's *Risāla fi'l-nafs* until more than seven hundred years had passed. Yet the *musta'ir* is generally discovered in the long run, for as the Arab poet says :⁵

"He will run among men like a half-breed
Whom the pure-breeds have left on the course."

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 337.

2. Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.*, ii, 331.

3. Vol. xxiii, pp. 163-80.

4. Vienna MS., N.F. 4., fol. 42v. *et seq.*

5. Quoted by Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama. See *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments* by Robson and Farmer (Glasgow, 1938), p. 4.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORIANS DURING THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR SHĀH JAHĀN

IN this paper I have attempted to collect only those historical works which were written by contemporary or Court historians of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, A.H. 1037-1069, (A.D. 1628-1659). It will be of interest to note that as many as nineteen histories dealing with the life of the Emperor from his childhood till his death were written by reliable authors. Particulars of such works with short accounts of their writers will, I think, be of interest to students of Mughal History. These works are as follows :—

1. AḤWĀL-I-SHĀHZĀDIGI-I-SHĀH JAHĀN

احوال شاہزادگی شاہ جہان

A history of Shāh Jahān's early life till his accession to the throne, from A.H. 1000-1037, (A.D. 1590-1627). The author does not mention his name in the text, but "endorsements" ascribe the work to Mu'tamad Khān. Dr. Rieu in his *Supplement Cat.*, No. 76, II, observes : 'Mu'tamad Khān, if such be the author's name, must be a distinct person from his namesake, the author of *Iqbāl Nāma*," the famous history of Jahāngīr, edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1865. But some verses of the book show that the work was written during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

It has 58 foll.

For copies of the MS. see Rieu, *Suppt.*, No. 76, II, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 67, No. 565, I, and *Buhār Cat.*, No. 74, I.

2. PĀDSHĀH NĀMA OR SHĀH JAHĀN NĀMA

بادشاہ نامہ (یا) شاہ جہان نامہ

AN official record of the reign of Shāh Jahān from the beginning of the fifth year to the end of the eighth year (20th March, A.D. 1632 to 19th March, A.D. 1636) by Mīrzā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Ṭabaṭabā'i. He came from

Ispahān to India in A.H. 1044, (A.D. 1634) and, on being enrolled as one of Shāh Jahān's Court chroniclers, wanted to write a history of five years of this sovereign's reign, but owing to envy of his rivals he had to discontinue the work. He is highly praised as the master of a new style of Persian composition and none but Abul Faḍl ever wrote history with equal elegance.¹

It has 165 foll.

For copies see *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 244, No. 359, *Lindisiana*, p. 161, No. 410, and *Rieu, Br. Mus. Cat.*, Vol. III., p. 933. See also *Elliot, History of India*, Vol. VII., p. 132.

Ṭabāṭabā'ī is also the author of the following works :—

(a) *Shash Fath Kāngra*. شش فتح کانگره

It comprises six stylistic accounts of the one expedition which Shāh Jahān, then Governor of Gujarāt, sent under command of Rāja Bikramājīt against the rebel Sūrajmal, son of Rāja Bāsū, in the 13th year of Jahāngīr's reign, A.H. 1027, (A.D. 1618), and of the capture of the fort of Kāngra in the Punjab below the Himalayas. In order to display the inexhaustible wealth of his rhetorical resources, the author relates the same events in six separate pieces, written in as many different styles of composition.

For copies see Asiatic Society, (*Curzon Collection*), No. 29, *Bankipore Suppt.* II, No. 2198, *Rieu, Vol.*, I p. 258. Extract of this work is given in *Elliot's History*, Vol. VI., pp. 517-531. See also *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. II., No. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 52, the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. II (1919) pp. 56-62, and *Storey, Persian Literature*, Section II, *History of India*, p. 566.

(b) *Tauqī'āt-i-Kisrawīya*. توقیعات کسرویہ

The so-called institutes of Khusrāu Anūshīrwān, translated from Arabic into Persian by Ṭabāṭabā'ī. Palmer in his *Cat. of Cambridge MSS.*, p. 154 names the work *Dastūr-Nāma e Kusra* and remarks that "the title is a chronogram, the numerical value of the letters amounting to 1056 A.H. (1647 A.D.). The book is in the form of questions and answers, and treats of Cosmogony, Philosophy, etc., according to the doctrines of the Mobeds or Magian Priests."

(1) Bibliography :—'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Vol. III., pp. 435-36. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, Vol. III., p. 463, and *Elliot : History of India*, Vol. VI., p. 517.

Printed in Calcutta, 1824 and repeatedly lithographed in Lucknow and Cawnpore. It is also transliterated and translated into English with notes and a preface by W. Young. See Arberry, *Cat. of the Library*, India Office, Vol. II., part VI, Persian Books, p. 532.

(c) Prose preface to the *diwāns* of:—

(1) Abū Ṭalīb Kalīm (died A.H. 1061 or 1062). See Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1771.

(2) Qudsī (died A.H. 1055 or 1056), see *ibid.* No. 1552, I.

(3) *Shifā'ī* (died A.H. 1037 or 1038), see *ibid.* No. 1763, 21.

(4) *Sāqi Nāma* of Zuhūrī (died A.H. 1025), see *Bankipore Suppt. Cat.*, Vol., II, No. 2200.

(5) Munīr Lāhūrī (Abul Barakāt, died A.H. 1054), see Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 933.

(d) *Muntakhab az Bayād*. منتخب از بياض

A collection of letters, congratulatory pieces and other occasional compositions. The following letters are of special interest. Letters to Afdal Khān (Mullā Shukrullāh Shīrāzī, wazīr of Shāh Jahān, who died in A.H. 1048). Letters to Mīrzā Muḥammad Husain and to the poet, Ṭalīb Kalīm. Letters written in the name of Shāh 'Abbās to 'Abdullāh Khān the Uzbek. Several congratulatory pieces addressed to Shāh Jahān. For copy of the work see Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 933.

3. JANG-I-ISLĀM KHĀN OR MATHNAVĪ DAR FATH BANGĀLA

جنگ اسلام خان (یا) مثنوی در فتح بنگاله

A *mathnavī* or poetical work on the victories of Islām Khān in Cooch Behār and Assam by Muḥammad Qulī Salīm Tīhrānī. He was for some time attached to Mīrzā 'Abdullāh, Governor of Lāhijān, and subsequently came to India during the reign of Shāh Jahān. Here he found a good patron in Islām Khān, a distinguished noble of the Emperor's Court. He died in A.H. 1057, (A.D. 1647).¹ Islām Khān conquered Cooch Behār and Assam in A.H. 1047, (A.D. 1637). See 'Amal-i-Šālīh, Vol. II, p. 286-8, 'Abd-ul-Hamīd, *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. II, pp. 68-90, and *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. I, pp. 162-7.

It has 20 foll.

(1) Bibliography:—*Haft Āsmān*, pp. 144-5, Storey, p. 567, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 88 and the authorities cited there.

For copies see *Asiatic Society Cat.*, p. 339, No. 748 (6), *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 88, No. 311, fol. 21b, and *Rieu, Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 1032.

4. SHĀH JAHĀN NĀMA OR TAWĀRIKH-I-SHĀH JAHĀNĪ

شاه جهان نامه (یا) تواریخ شاه جهانی

A very rare history of Shāh Jahān. It begins with the illness of Jahāngīr and the accession of Shāh Jahān. The events of the reign are then told year by year in a very simple style. The narrative closes with the confinement of Shāh Jahān by Aurangzīb and it is stated at the end that Shāh Jahān lived eight years in captivity. The author of the work is Muḥammad Ṣādiq entitled Ṣādiq Khān. He was a Persian by birth and served Shāh Jahān very faithfully. On the accession of Shāh Jahān, our author was promoted to the rank of Bakhshī¹ (Adjutant-General). He was then appointed tutor to Prince Shujā', whom he accompanied in Khāndīs and Mālva and subsequently in Badakhshān. From the 20th year of the reign he appears to have remained in constant attendance upon Shāh Jahān. He also held the office of Waqā'i' Navīs (State Chronicler) in Agra. At the time of the defeat of Dārā Shikūh and the victorious advance of Aurangzīb, he was one of the few Amīrs who remained faithful to Shāh Jahān and in his book he comments severely on those who deserted the ailing sovereign to flock round his rebellious son. He was summoned by Aurangzīb in Jumādā II, A.H. 1068, (A.D. 1658), who dismissed him from the post of State Chronicler.²

It has 205 foll.

For copies see *Rieu, Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 262, Vol. III, p. 1008 and *Rampore Library*, vide *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1936, p. 281. *Elliot*, Vol. VII, p. 133, thinks that Ṭabaqāt Shāh Jahānī, a work on the lives of the eminent men who flourished under Timūr and his successors down to the reign of Shāh Jahān, is written by our author. But *Rieu* in his *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 1010, remarks that this work is the composition of another scholar of the same name who was evidently a man of humble circumstances, devoted to study and religious life and not an Amīr of the Imperial Court. The name of the author of this work, Ṭabaqāt Shāh Jahānī, is Muḥammad Ṣādiq Dehlavī. He was born about A.H. 1000, (A.D. 1590) and spent his life in Dehlī. He studied under Shāikh Fā'iz, who died in A.H. (1022, A.D. 1613) and became a disciple of 'Abd-ul-Haqq Dehlavī, died A.H. 1052, (A.D. 1642.) The date of composition of this work is not mentioned

1. For detailed meaning of the word Bakhshī, see *Blochmann, A'in Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 161 and *Irvine, The Army of Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37-40.

2. Bibliography:— *Rieu, Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 262 and *Elliot, History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 133. See also *Storey*, p. 577.

in the preface, but A.H. 1046, (A.D. 1636) is spoken of in the last part of the work as the current year.

'Abdul Muqtadir in his *Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 65 mentions *Āthār-i-Shāh Jahānī* or *Akhbār-i-Jahāngīrī*, in the list of the histories dedicated to *Shāh Jahān*. He thinks that the author, who calls himself Muhammad *Ṣādiq Dehlavī*, is identical with the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī*. *Dehlavī* is also the author of a valuable rare work which contains biographical notices of Muḥammadan saints who lie buried in Dehlī and this work is called *Kalimāt-uṣ-Ṣādiqīn*.

For copy of this work see *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VIII, p. 34.

5. ZAFAR NĀMAH-I-SHĀH JAHĀNĪ

ظفرنامہ شاہ جہانی

A poetical history of *Shāh Jahān* in *Mathnavī*, rhymed by Muḥammad *Jān* who took the surname of *Qudsī* from the holy shrine of *Mashhad*, his native place. In his youth he performed a pilgrimage to Mecca and then came to India in A.H. 1041, (A.D. 1631). 'Abdullāh *Khān Fīrūz Jang*, a noble of the rank of 6000, (died A.H. 1054, A.D. 1644), introduced him to the Court of *Shāh Jahān* in *Rabī' II*, A.H. 1042, (A.D. 1632). The Emperor as a token of appreciation of the poet's meritorious attainments rewarded him on various occasions. *Qudsī* enjoyed a reputation in no way inferior to that of his contemporary, *Ṭālib-i-Kalīm*, the poet-laureate of the Court. He died according to best authorities¹ in A.H. 1056, (A.D. 1646) either in Lahore or in *Kashmīr*. We notice his portrait in *Havell, Indian Sculpture and Paintings*, 2nd ed., plate LVIII.

It has 183 foll.

For copies see *Rieu*, Vol. II, p. 685, Vol. III, p. 1001, *Ethé, Bodl., Cat.*, Nos. 1102-1111; *Ethé, India Office Cat.*, Nos. 1552-1557, and 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore*, Vol. III, pp. 74-86.

6. PĀDSHĀH NĀMA

بادشاہ نامہ

A metrical history of *Shāh Jahān's* reign with descriptions of some buildings by *Mīr Muḥammad Yaḥyā Kāshī*. He came to India from *Kāshān* in the reign of *Shāh Jahān* and became a panegyrist of the Emperor

(1) Bibliography:—'Abd-ul-Hamid Lāhūrī, *Pādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 444, Part II, pp. 351-3, 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Vol. III, pp. 397-401, *Khazāna-i-Āmīra*, p. 377, *Mīr'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 134, *Ātash Kada*, p. 131; *Haft Āsmān*, pp. 143-4, *Rieu*, Vol. II, p. 684 *Ethé, India Office*, No. 1552, *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II., p. 1105, and *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III, pp. 74-77.

and of the heir-apparent Dārā Shikūh. He was appointed Imperial Librarian and was commanded to write a poetical record of the Emperor's reign, but afterwards he lost the royal favour and most probably discontinued the poem. He died¹ in A.H. 1064, (A.D. 1653). A fragment of this work (45 foll.) is only in the Br. Mus., see Rieu, Vol. III, p. 1001.

7. CHĀR CHAMAN

چارچمن

A description of Shāh Jahān's Court with its splendours and festivals, and of the principal cities of his realm, beginning with Shāhjahanābād, followed by a memoir of the author's own life by Chandarbhān, poetically known as Barahman. He was the son of a Brahman of Punjab, called Dharamdās, and was born at Lahore, where he studied under Mullā 'Abd-ul-Hakīm Siyālkūtī (died A.H. 1067, A.D. 1656). He became the secretary to Afdal Khān who was appointed Mir Sāmān in Shāh Jahān's first year in A.H. 1037, (A.D. 1628), and Dīwān-i-Kull in the second year, and who died in A.H. 1048, (A.D. 1639), (see Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, pp. 145-51). After the death of his patron, he passed into the imperial service in A.H. 1055, (A.D. 1645), and subsequently in A.H. 1057, (A.D. 1647) was appointed Waqā'i' Navīs-i-Hudūr, his duty being to attend the Emperor on his journey and record the daily occurrences of the Court. With the Emperor's consent he entered the service of Dārā Shikūh, but in A.H. 1066, (A.D. 1656), he was taken away from Dārā Shikūh, given employment in Dār-ul-Inshā', Epistolary Dept. of the State and was given the title of Rāy. He was sent by the Emperor on a mission to the King of Bījāpūr. According to Mir'at-ul-Khayāl, p. 215, he retired from the imperial service after the death of Dārā Shikūh in A.H. 1069, (A.D. 1659), went to Benares and died there in A.H. 1073, (A.D. 1663).²

Rāy Chandarbhān was a distinguished writer of prose as well as poetry. The present work is written in a highly embellished prose style intermixed with numerous poetical specimens and is divided into four Chamans (or sections).

The first section contains descriptions of various festivals at Court, with pieces of poetry recited by the author on the occasions.

The second describes the splendours of the Court, the daily occupations of Shāh Jahān, his new capital Shāhjahanābād and the principal cities and shubahs of the empire.

1. 'Abd-ul-Hamid Lāhūrī, Pādshāh Nāma, Vol. II, pp. 758-9, Haft Āsmān, pp. 156-8, Rieu, Cat., Vol. III, pp. 1001-2, Bankipore Cat., Vol. III., p. 120, and Storey, p. 569.

2. Bibliography :— 'Amal-i-Sālih', Vol. III. pp. 434-35, Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 740, Tadhkira Khushnavisān, p. 55, S. M. Abdallah's article in Oriental College Magazine, Vol. IV., No. 4 (Lahore, August 1928), pp. 2-12, Rieu, Cat., Vol. I, p. 397, and Storey, p. 572.

The third contains the author's life and some of his letters.

The fourth deals with moral and religious thoughts.

It has 116 foll.

For copies see Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. II. p. 838, Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 2093, and Browne, *Suppt.*, No. 376. See also Storey, p. 570. F. Gladwin has printed a portion of the work in his book, *Persian Moonshee*, Calcutta, 1795. He is also the author of the following works :—

(1) *Dīwān*, a collection of lyrical poems.

For copies see Bodl., *Cat.*, No. 1123, Brownes, *Suppt.*, No. 517, Ethé, *India Office Cat.* No. 1574, *Asiatic Society Cat.*, Nos. 762-63, and *Asiatic Society (Curzon Collection)*, No. 740.

(2) A *Mystical Mathnavī*, published in *Majmū'ah-i-Rasā'il* at Lucknow in 1877. See Storey, p. 571 and Arberry, *Cat. of the Printed Persian Books*, India Office, Vol. II., Part VI, p. 285.

(3) *Munsha'āt* or *Inshā'*, letters to *Shāh Jahān* and others.

For copies see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 2094, Bodl., *Cat.*, Nos. 1385-6, Rieu, p. 397, *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I. p. 114, and *Aligarh Cat.*, p. 53. It was published at Lucknow, in 1885, see Storey, p. 571.

(4) A Vedantic work, *Nāzuk Khayālāt*, translated by Chandarbhān from *Ātma-Vilāsa*, ascribed to *Shankara Achārya*, was published at Lahore in 1901. See Storey, p. 571.

(5) Chandarbhān also translated from Hindī into Persian *Dārā Shikūh's* questions concerning Hindū beliefs and customs and the answers to them. For copy see *Berlin Cat.*, No. 1081, (2).

Dr. Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1574, names the following works also in the list of Chandarbhān's composition :—

(a) *Guldasta*, (b) *Kār Nāma*, (c) *Tuḥfat-ul-Wazarā*, (d) *Tuḥfat-ul-Fuṣṣḥā*, (e) *Majma'-ul-Wazarā*.

8. PĀDSHĀH NĀMA OR SHĀH NĀMA

پادشاه نامہ (یا) شاہ نامہ

A poetical account of *Shāh Jahān's* reign by *Mirzā Abū Ṭālib 'Kalīm.'* He was born in Hamadān, but as he lived for a long time in *Kāshān*, he is sometimes called *Kāshī*. He studied in *Shīrāz* and came to India during the reign of *Jahāngīr*. He returned to his native land in A.H. 1028, (A.D. 1618), but after staying there for two years came again to India. Shortly after *Shāh Jahān's* accession, *Kalīm* attached himself to the Imperial Court and soon became a favourite poet of the Emperor who gave him the title of *Malik-ush-Shu'arā*, (poet-laureate). It is related in several biographical accounts of the poet that the king of Rūm once asked the Mughal Emperor the reason of his adopting the title of *Shāh Jahān*, which means the king of the world, while he was only the king of India.

Kalim replied that the numerical value of *Hind* (India) and *Jahān* (world) was the same, consequently there could be no argument against the King's adopting the title of *Shāh Jahān*.¹ Kalim and Qudsī (see No. 5) were simultaneously engaged in composing two poetical accounts of *Shāh Jahān*. Kalim was sent to *Kashmīr* where he devoted himself to the composition of the above work and died there in A.H. 1062, (A.D. 1651) or A.H. 1061, (A.D. 1650).² According to the *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, (*Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VIII., p. 144, No. 40), Kalim's *Shāh Nāma* gives a detailed account of ten years of *Shāh Jahān*'s reign and consists of 14,948 verses.

It has 518 foll.

For copies see *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 102, No. 316, *Rieu, Cat.*, Vol. II, p. 687, *Browne, Suppt.*, No. 792, and *Ethé, India Office Cat.*, No. 1570.

9. *LAṬĀ'IF-UL-AKHBĀR OR TĀRĪKH-I-QANDAHĀRĪ*

لطائف الاخبار (یا) تاریخ قندهاری

A detailed account of Prince *Dārā Shikūh*'s expedition to *Qandahār* in A.H. 1063, (A.D. 1652). The name of the author does not occur anywhere in the text, but *Khafī Khān*, Vol. I, p. 722 ascribes this work to *Rashīd Khān*, known as *Muḥammad Badī'*, *Dīvān* of *Mahābat Khān*. He accompanied *Dārā Shikūh* in his campaign to *Qandahār* and states in the preface that he had recorded in this work only those events which he had either seen with his own eyes, or ascertained from trustworthy witnesses. After the fall of *Dārā*, the author attached himself to *Aurangzīb*, in whose 24th year, he became *Dīwān-i-Khālīṣa*. *Tadhkirat-ul-Umarā*, fol. 46, says that he died in the 41st year of *Aurangzīb*'s reign, viz., A.H. 1110, (A.D. 1698). According to *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, fol. 234, he died in *Agra*, A.H. 1107, (A.D. 1695).³

The work is divided into three parts :—

I. Accounts of some previous events, namely, the revolt of the *Uzbaks* in A.H. 1056, (A.D. 1646), the expedition under the Princes *Murād* and *Aurangzīb* to *Qandahār*, and finally the march of *Dārā* to that place.

II. Events of the siege, recorded day by day, beginning with 10th of *Jumāda II*, A.H. 1063, (8th May, A.D. 1652) to the 15th *Dhu'l Qa'da* of the same year.

1. Kalim says :—

هندو جهان ز روی عدد چون بود یکی بر شه خطاب شاه جهان زان مقرر است

2. Bibliography :—*Abd-ul-Hamīd, Pādshāh Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 757, *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 144, *Majma'-ul-Fuṣahā*, Vol. II, p. 28, *Shibli, Shi'r-ul-'Ajām*, Vol. III, pp. 205-230, *Browne, Lit. History*, Vol. IV, pp. 258-63, *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 698 and *Storey*, p. 573.

3. Bibliography :—*Khafī Khān*, Vol. I, p. 722, *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 829, *Rieu*, Vol. I, p. 264, Vol. III, p. 1083 and *Storey*, p. 573.

III. Dārā's return from Qandahār and his arrival in Multān on the 9th Dhū'l Ḥijjah, A.H. 1063, (31st October, A.D. 1652). A rough English translation by Major Raverly is mentioned by Storey, p. 574. It is said that the events narrated in the present work were correct, and Dārā after this campaign continued to receive warm favours from Shāh Jahān. He received the title, *Shāhzādah-i-buland Iqbāl*, and in public ceremonies a silver chair, close to the Imperial throne, was reserved for him. The prince was further allowed an increment of ten thousand soldiers and ten thousand cavalry, and received a reward of one lakh of *ashrafīs*.

It has 234 foll.

For copies see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 338, Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 264, Bodl., *Cat.* No. 238, Blochet, Vol. I, No. 593, *Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.*, No. 155, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 75; and *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 250.

10. BĀDSHĀH NĀMA

بادشاه نامہ

THE official history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. The work consists of three volumes (daftars), each of which comprises a period of ten lunar years. The history of the first two decades of the reign, i.e., A.H. 1037-1057, (A.D. 1627-1647) was written by 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd Lāhūrī. He was a pupil of Abul Faḍl and was the celebrated master of the style of composition in Persian introduced by his teacher. Shāh Jahān, hearing his fame, summoned him in his Court and entrusted to him the task of writing a history on the model of *Akbar Nāma*. 'Abdul-Ḥamīd wrote very successfully the first and second daftars comprising the first two decades, which were revised by Sa'dullāh Khān (Shāh Jahān's Vazīr). But infirmities of old age prevented him from proceeding with the third decade of the reign. He died¹ in A.H. 1065, (A.D. 1655).

The first two daftars of the *Badshāh Nāma* have been printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1866-72.

Extracts of the work are translated :—

1. Cooch Behār, Kooch Hājo and Assam in the 16th and 17th centuries according to *Akbar Nāma*, *Pādshāh Nāma* and *Fathīya-i-'Ibriya* by Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 41 (1872) pp. 49-101.

2. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. VII. pp. 3-72.

1. Bibliography :—*'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, Vol. III, p. 438, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 3-72 and 121-2, *Royal As. Soc.*, new series, Vol. III, p. 462, *Critical Essay*, p. 40, *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 40; and *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 4, (Lahore, August 1926), p. 53.

3. *A Complete Key to the Persian Entrance Course for 1897-1898*, by Oudd Behārī Lāl and Jwāla Prasād, Part I, Allahabad, 1896, pp. 80-108.

The third daftar of the *Bādshāh Nāma*, containing the history of the third decade of the reign, i.e., A.H. 1057-1067, (A.D. 1647-1657), is by Muḥammad Wārith. He was a pupil of 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd and was also the master of the Persian style. He was entrusted with the task of writing the third daftar as his teacher was incapacitated by age. He was ordered to submit his work for revision to Fāḍil Khān. On the 10th Rabi' I., A.H. 1091 (A.D. 1680), Wārith Khān was killed by a mad student, whom he had taken under his protection.¹

Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII. pp. 121-2.

For copies see, Morley, *Descriptive Cat.*, p. 122, Aumer, p. 95, Rieu, Vol. I., p. 260, Ethé, Bodl., Nos. 232-235, Ethé, India Office, Nos. 325-330, Blochet, Vol., I., Nos. 586-7, 588, *Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.*, No. 149, it bears an autograph note by the Emperor Shāh Jahān, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 67, and *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 220, Vol. III, p. 92.

11. *MULAKHKHAṢ*, (USUALLY CALLED SHĀH JAHĀN NĀMA)

ملخص (یا) شاه جهان نامه

A history of Shāh Jahān's reign by Muḥammad Tāhir with poetical name Āshnā, commonly known as 'Ināyat Khān bin Zāfar Khān bin Khwājah Abul Ḥasan. His ancestors were men of letters, and held high offices under the Mughal kings of India. His grandfather, Abul Ḥasan (died A.H. 1042, A.D. 1632) held the rank of five thousand under the Emperor Jahāngīr, his father, Zāfar Khān, was governor of Kābul and Kashmīr. He held the post of Dāroghah-i-Hudūr and Dāroghah-i-Kitāb Khāna or Imperial Librarian of Shāh Jahān. Manuscripts bearing his signature are extant. In Emperor Aurangzib's reign, he retired to Kashmīr where he died in A.H. 1077, or 1081, (A.D. 1666 or 1670).²

This history is an abridgement of *Bādshāh Nāma* of 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd and of Muḥammad Wārith (see No. 10) and, so far as the 4th to 10th years are concerned from *Bādshāh Nāma* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīn (see No. 16) and consequently it was given the name of *Mulakhkhaṣ* (abridged one). An English translation in MS. by Major Fuller is preserved in the *British Museum Add.* 30,777, foll. 1-562. Translation of the preface and some extracts are in Elliot's *History*, Vol. VII, pp. 73-120.

It has 463 foll.

1. Bibliography :—*Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 192, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 121, Rieu. Vol. I, p. 260 and Storey, p. 576.

2. Bibliography :—*Tadhkira Tāhir Naṣirābādī*, Vol. I, pp. 58-9, *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā* Vol. II, pp. 762-3, and Storey, p. 578.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. I, p. 261, Ethé, No. 33, Bodl., Cat., No. 237, Morley, p. 123 and *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 76.

He is also the author of a poetical work called in Springer's Cat., p. 339, *Kulliyāt Āshnā*.

For copy and description see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1584.

12. TĀRIKH DIL GUSHĀ

تاریخ دل گشا

A history of Shāh Jahān and his predecessors by Shaikh 'Ināyatullāh Kanbū. He was born at Burhānpūr and was the elder brother and teacher of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, the author of '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*' (see No. 13). After a period of service as an official of Shāh Jahān, he retired from the world and lived besides the sacred shrine of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Dehlī. He died in A.H. 1082, (A.D. 1671), at the age of 65.¹

For copy see Browne, *Supplementary Hand-List*, Cambridge, No. 234.

He is also the author of a popular romance, called *Bahār-i-Dānīsh*, repeatedly lithographed in India. See Arberry, p. 64. Translated into English by J. Scott, 3 Vols., London, 1799.

13. 'AMAL-I-ṢĀLIḤ

عمل صالح

A detailed history of Shāh Jahān by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū² Lāhūrī. He was a pupil of 'Ināyatullāh Kanbū whom he called his elder brother.³ He was from his childhood an intimate friend of Abul Burakāt Munīr, a poet of Lahore, who died in the prime of life in A.H. 1054, (A.D. 1644). Prof. Dowson (Elliot, *History*, Vol. VII, p. 123), confounds the author with Mīr Ṣāliḥ Kāshfī, an eminent penman and poet, who died in A.H. 1061 (A.D. 1650), i.e., nine years before the composition of this work. S. M. Laṭīf in his work, *Lahore, its history, etc.*, 1892, states on unspecified authority on p. 209 that he died in A.H. 1085, (A.D. 1675). His tomb still exists outside the Mochī Gate at Lahore. Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī in his Preface, p. 8, says, a small beautiful mosque, built by his order, stands to this date

1. Bibliography :—'*Amal Ṣāliḥ*, Vol. III, pp. 378-82, pp. 439-41, Muḥammad Laṭīf, *Lahore : its history architectural remains and antiquities*, (Lahore 1892) p. 208, Ethé, *Grundriss der Iran Philologie*, Vol. II, p. 325 and *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 478.

2. See Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī's Preface for the meaning of the word Kanbū, pp. 3, 4, note.

3. Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī in the Preface to his excellent edition of '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*', states that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ cannot have been the brother of 'Ināyat Khān, but Prof. Storey rejects this theory of Prof. Yazdānī. For full discussion see the said Preface, p. 6, and Storey, *Persian Literature*, fasc. 3, p. 579, note 1.

inside the Mochī Gate and the inscription of the mosque gives the year of its construction as A.H. 1079, (A.D. 1668).¹

The work is very useful and was completed in A.H. 1070, (A.D. 1664). The account of Shāh Jahān's death in A.H. 1076, (A.D. 1665) and of other events in the biographical notes, some of which took place as late as A.H. 1080, (A.D. 1669), must therefore be in a later edition.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. I, p. 263, Morley, *Descriptive Cat.*, p. 124, Mehren, p. 21, Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, Nos. 332-336, Browne, *Suppl.*, No. 791, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 78, *Asiatic Society of Bengal's Cat.*, No. 152, *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 248, and Lahore Punjab University Library (see *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 4, August 1926), p. 53.

Edited by Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī, in *Bibliotheca Indica* in 3 Vols., 1939. Extracts translated by Prof. Dowson in Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VII, pp. 123-132.

He is also the author of the following works :—

(a) *Fath-i-Balkh*.—It gives an account of the expedition sent by the Emperor Shāh Jahān under the command of Prince Murād Bakhsh and 'Alī Mardān Khān, against the Uzbek chief, Nadhr Muḥammad and of the capture of Balkh on the 28th Jumadā I, A.H. 1056.

For copy see Rieu, Vol. III, p. 934, where it is stated that the work is a rhetorical amplification written in the most pompous style with far less attention to facts.

(b) *Bahār-i-Sukhūn*.—A collection of letters and other refined prose-writings by our author. The work is divided into four parts, each called *Chaman*. It contains, besides a panegyric on Shāh Jahān, letters written by the author in the name of Shāh Jahān, Aurangzib and other royal and princely personages, as well as descriptions of Shāhjahānābād, Agrā, Kashmīr and other localities.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. I, p. 398, where it is stated that it was completed in A.H. 1074, (A.D. 1664), Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 3090, where the date of completion is given A.H. 1065, (A.D. 1655), and Asiatic Society, (*Curzon Collection*), No. 144.

14. *TUḤFAH-I-SHĀH JAHĀNĪ*

تحفة شاه جهانی

A concise history of the life and reign of Shāh Jahān from his birth in A.H. 1000, (A.D. 1592) to his death in A.H. 1076, (A.D. 1666), by Sudhārī La'l. Nothing is known to me about the author.

It has 32 foll.

For copy see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 337.

1. Bibliography :—'Amal Ṣāliḥ, Vol. III., p. 381, Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī's introduction, pp. 2-9, *Ma'd-thir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 222, Rieu, Vol. I, p. 263, Storey, p. 579, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, Vol. III, p. 463, and *Critical Essay*, p. 41.

15. *ĀSHŪB NĀMAH-I-HINDUSTĀN*

آشوب نامہ ہندوستان

A historical poem by Bihishtī-Shīrāzī from the time of the civil war during the reign of Shāh Jahān and the struggle of his sons for the empire. He was a poet of some repute and was a panegyrist of Sultān Murād Bakhsh. He wrote this work in the interest of his master and in a spirit of bitter animosity against Aurangzīb. He completed this work before the death of his patron which took place in A.H. 1071, (A.D. 1660). The work is also called *Āshūb-i-Hindūstān*.

Lithographed, Lucknow, A.H. 1300, (A.D. 1883).

It has 60 foll.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. II, p. 689, Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1579 and Bodl., *Cat.*, No. 1124.

16. *BĀDShĀH NĀMA*

بادشاہ نامہ

A history of the first ten years of Shāh Jahān's reign by Muḥammad Amīn bin Abul Husain Qazvinī, known as Mīrzā Amīna. He was a native of Persia and came to India and entered in the service of Shāh Jahān as a *Munshī* in the fifth year of the reign. As the Emperor was not satisfied with the work of his Court chroniclers, and was looking for a better writer, he was appointed historiographer in the eighth year (A.H. 1045, A.D. 1635) of his reign and was ordered to prepare a history of the first ten years of the reign. The title *Bādshāh Nāma* was given to the work by the Emperor himself. The author wanted to write another volume containing the second decade of the reign, but was prevented from carrying out his plan, owing to his transfer to the Intelligence Department.¹

The work is divided into three sections :—

I. Birth of Shāh Jahān, accounts of his predecessors, and a history of his minority.

II. His accession and the first ten years of his reign.

The history of the last year is incomplete, ending with the month of Shahrēwar, or sixth month, corresponding to Jumāda I, A.H. 1047. It is stated here that the Emperor, reverting from the solar to the lunar year, ordered the history of the eleventh year to begin on the first Jumāda II, the month in which he had ascended the throne.

1. Bibliography :—'Amal-i-Šālīh, Vol. III, p. 439, Rieu, Vol. I, p. 258, Morley, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 121, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 71, Storey, p. 566, and Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

III. Biographical notices of saints, learned men, physicians and poets of the period.

It has 545 foll.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. I, p. 258, Blochet, Vol. I, No. 590, *Edinburgh Cat.*, No. 409, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 71, *Buhār Cat.*, Vol. I, No. 69, and *Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.*, p. 46, No. 151.

The copy in the Bankipore Library is a very valuable one. It was seen by their Majesties King George and Queen Mary on the occasion of their visit to Delhi in 1911, and their signatures appear on the flyleaf at the beginning of the copy :— "Seen this day December 10th, 1911 George R. I. Mary."

It contains twelve large beautiful paintings and seven coloured drawings of buildings, mosques, etc. of Shāh Jahān's time. In one of the paintings we notice that Jahāngīr accompanied by Prince Khurram (afterwards Shāh Jahān) and others went out a hunting. Jahāngīr's horse took fright at the sight of a lion. The Emperor alighted from his horse and fired, but missed. The lion became furious, and attacked the Mīr Shikār, and after flinging him aside, returned to its place. Jahāngīr fired again, but ineffectively. The beast then attacked Jahāngīr, whereupon Anūp Rāi interposed to save the Emperor. The lion wounded Anūp Rāi and seized his hands and arms in its jaws. He succeeded in freeing one hand. Prince Khurram attacked the lion with his sword and saved Anūp Rāi.

17. KITĀB-I-TĀRIKH

کتاب تاریخ

A history of the three Mughal Emperors of India, viz., Bābar, Akbar and Shāh Jahān, preceded by an account of Tīmūr. The name of the author or the title of the work is not given anywhere in the text, but the work was written during Shāh Jahān's reign as he speaks of the Emperor in the present tense. It ends abruptly in the middle of the eighth year of the Emperor's reign (A.H. 1044, A.D. 1634).

It has 78 foll.

For copy see *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 79.

18. WAQĀ'IT-I-DAKHAN

واقعات دکن

AN account of events in the Deccan in Shāh Jahān's reign. The name of the author is not known.

It has 78 foll.

For copies see Blochet, Vol. I, No. 20, and *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. p. 258, No. 417.

19. *HILYAH-I-SHĀH JAHĀNĪ*

حلیۂ شاہ جہانی

A *Mathnavī* describing the physical features of *Shāh Jahān*. The name of the author is not known, but most probably he was one of the Court poets.

It has 25 foll.

Only one copy of the work is in Bankipore Library, see 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 111, No. 325.

M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

MYSTIC MONASTICISM DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

‘ Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes Angulus ridet ’—That nook of the world
has charms for me before all else.

HORACE.

MONASTICISM was forbidden by Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam. It is related in the traditions that Usmān ibn Maz'ūn came to the Prophet with the request that he might retire from society and become a monk. The Prophet replied : “ The retirement which becomes my people, is to sit in the corner of a mosque and wait for the time of Prayer.”¹ Although God has given a prophet to every people in its own tongue, yet different minds incline to different methods for spiritual attainments. By and by with the development of Sufic Philosophy and thought monasticism came into being because it was nothing but the elaboration of the relations between the Sufic Preceptor and the disciple. Routine in a hospice moved round the lives of the mystic Master and his numerous disciples.

In Ancient India, there is conclusive evidence of monks and monasteries earlier.² It is common that we hear of younger princes becoming monks.³ Asoka's daughter Charumati and her husband Devapala built a nunnery and a monastery.⁴ Chaityas and Viharas, belonging to the Hindu Period, lead us to the same conclusion.⁵ Sir John Marshall has candidly remarked : “ Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive.”⁶

The consolidation of Muhammadan power in India secured the conquered land for the propagation of Islam and along with it for the infusion of the already developed mystic monasticism. Old custom is hard to

1. *Dictionary Of Islam*, p. 354.

Mishkāt ; Book IV, Ch. 8.

2. V. A. Smith : *The Early History of India*, pp. 174 & 176.

3. Ma-twan-lin, cited in *Indian Antiquary*, IX, 22.

4. Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal (Musée Guimet, 1905-8)*, I, pp. 67 & 263 ; II 24, 336 ; III, 161 f.

5. *Cambridge History of India*, I., p. 637.

6. Do do Vol. III, p. 568.

break and scarce any man will be led otherwise than seemeth good unto himself. The mystics of the Mughal period received the custom and code of Šūfī spirituality, as a heritage from their medieval masters. The ideal of a Šūfī disciple is and was to follow in the footsteps of his spiritual Guide as far as possible in the matter of dress, diet and meditations.

THE SITUATION OF A HOSPICE

THE existence of Sufist monasteries in Mughal India cannot be doubted. All the authorities are agreed on the point that the Islamic institution of monasticism was in a thriving state.¹ The monasteries had commodious compounds and enough rooms to accommodate the large number of the disciples, who thronged at the threshold of the spiritual Master to learn the latent mysteries of the other world. A particular hospice described by the author of *Sīyar-ul-awliyā* was a double-storeyed building.² The second storey was reserved for the spiritual Preceptor and served as his private apartments. The lower storey consisted of many small cubicles for the use of the disciples. There were fruit-bearing and shady trees around the hospices.³ On one side was a tank served by a well. Large verandahs circumscribed the rooms of the monastery. Almost every hospice had a mosque within or nearby attached to the main building. During the summer the spiritual Guide and his disciples sat under the cool shade of the trees.⁴ In some of the monasteries there was also a congregational hall for the daily discourses and spiritual assemblies.⁵

THEIR CONCEPTION OF GOD

THESE monasteries were the strongholds of the seekers of God. To His quest they devoted their lives. A high authority stresses the point in

1. *Badāūnī*, II, 73 ; III, 4, 14, 54, 160, 200, 130.

Tārikh-i-Farīshṭa, II, 563.

Sīyar-ul-ʿĀrifīn, MS., 14, 15, 16, 24.

Masnaviyāt-i-Mullā Shāh, MS, 30.

Hālāt-i-Bilawal, 4.

Mirʿat-i-Aḥmadī, 48, 58.

Sīyar-ul-awliyā, 129, 264, 270, 288, 290, 363, 511, 513.

Akhhbār-ul-akhyār, 187.

2. *Sīyar-ul-awliyā*, 292, 363.

3. *Hālāt-i-Bilawal*, 3.

Sīyar-ul-awliyā, 362.

4. *Ibid.*, 362.

5. *Ibid.*, 358.

the following manner :—¹

“ Their every purpose is with God united.

Their high ambitions mount to Him alone.

Their troth is to the Lord and Master plighted,

O, noble quest, for the Eternal One.”

In their hospices they sounded the trumpet of Ipseity² and said : “ In reality there is no other being ; we are all God, but on account of a small point of difference, we are all separated from Him.”³ The doctrine of unity in diversity was prevalent. “ Neither am I myself nor you yourself, nor are you me. I am myself too. You are yourself also and you are also me.”⁴ God was regarded as being very near to the human being, but it was also said that the individual could not realize Him easily.⁵ No curtain hid Him except that of one’s own self.⁶ To become a part of Him, required great effort and self-annihilation, without which none could find the way leading to His presence.⁷

Only when being has been left behind,

Canst thou the only source of being find.⁸

Although man leaves no stone unturned in order to find Him, yet it is God alone who can show him the right path of spiritual development and eternal bliss. A great Šūfī has said : “ None knows Him, save him to whom He has made Himself manifest.”⁹ They regarded everything as perishable except God, to love Whom was their only desire and concern.¹⁰ Like Massillon they said : “ God should be the object of all our desires, the end of all our actions, the principle of all our affections, and the governing power of our souls.” To the mystic the love of God was a gigantic beacon of spiritual light, hailing him towards the region of eternal peaceful radiance, and far away from the sorrow and squalor of this iniquitous and material world. Worldly desires, bodily appetites and passions were the torrential hurricanes blowing furiously and trying to retard his progress towards his destination.¹¹

1. *Kitāb-al-Ta’aruf-i Madhhab Ahl Al-Taṣawwuf*, I, translated by Arthur John Arberry.

2. *Tarīqat-ul-haqīqat.*, pp. 1, 2.

3. *Mir’at-ul-khayāl*, 335.

4. *Akhhār-ul-akhyār*, 285.

5. *Hujjat-ul-asrār*, p. 3.

6. *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, MS., (24), printed (42).

7. *Maktūbāt-i-Aḥmadī*, I, p. 24.

Badāūnī, III., 155.

8. *Islamic Culture*, 1934., p. 97.

9. *Kalīd-ul-tawhīd*, p. 25.

10. *Muḥkam-ul-fuqarā*, p. 13.

Diwān-i-Bāhū, p. 9.

11. *‘Ayn-ul-fuqarā*, p. 120.

The spring of Pantheism flows in a sprightly rhythm throughout their abundant epistles. "He is the kernel of the world ; the world is naught but the shell. But what of kernel and of shell, when all things are He.¹ To those who traverse the latent Sūfic stages, He is manifest in every substance, material or spiritual ; but to him who has not covered the path, He remains hidden. Sarmad, a Šūfī saint of the Mughal period writes :—²

" Though Thou art hidden, yet behind the eye
Thou dwellest, knowing well my secret. Aye,
And like the lamp behind its coloured shade,
Thou sheddest light for me to travel by."

PRECEPTOR AND DISCIPLE

CROMWELL, in his earliest extant letter, wrote from St. Ives : " Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies ; to build material temples is judged a work of piety ; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious."³ The seeker of God was advised to search out and receive initiation from a perfect spiritual Preceptor.⁴ That teacher, who purged the student's mind by expurgating the desires of this material world, was regarded as a perfect master.⁵ Year in and year out, the lives of the disciples in a hospice revolved round the nucleus of their Sufic Guide. He instructed them in the latent mysteries of monastic mysticism. Generally the ceremony of initiation consisted of instruction as to the method of repetition of the Great Name of God (*Ism-i-A'zam*) ; and the gift of a long shirt called the *Khirqā-i-Irādat* and a cap to the disciple by the Preceptor. Various and manifold services were voluntarily undertaken and delightedly performed by the disciples in the hospice. A few looked after the cooking in the kitchen, some supplied water and others brought fuel and wood from the jungles nearby.

Ruskin has said : " God is not to be known by marring His fair works and blotting out the evidence of His influence upon His creatures ; not amidst the hurry of crowds and the crash of innovation, but in solitary places, and out of the glowing intelligences which He gave to men of old." In the hospices situated far away from the worldly turmoil of the town, initiation at the hands of a perfect spiritual master was essential for the realization of God. To sit at his feet was regarded as the greatest boon of life. He led his students out of the darkness of passions and

1. Badā'ūnī, III., p. 102.

2. *Islamic Culture*, 1934, p. 101.

3. Letter, dated January 11, 1635, in Carlyle's Collection.

4. *Shams-ul-'Arifin*, p. 5.

5. *'Aql-i-Bēdār*, p. 47.

submerged them in the ocean of Eternal Bliss and Light (God). "Although the people of His path are not God, yet they are not separate from Him."¹

REPETITION OF THE GREAT NAME OF GOD

THE disciples under the instruction of their Preceptor occupied themselves with all their heart and soul in the repetition of the Great Name of God (*Ism-i-'Aẓam*). Every breath of life was precious to them. It was not to be whiled away in amusement. They were enjoined to utilize it in remembrance of Him.

The Emperor Jahāngīr wrote to a Muslim saint in Gujarat asking him to send him some of the names of God, so that the King might repeat them.² The Ṣūfīs as well as the Muslim mystics are at variance concerning the Names of God. Some of them maintain that the names of God are neither God nor other than God. Others hold that the Names of God are God. Some of them regard that the Name of God is within the human body and can be realized there.³

Once a Ṣūfī saint was asked if he remembered the Great Name and the language in which It was. He aptly replied, "Cleanse your stomach from forbidden, illegal and unlawful food and expel the love of this material world. After accomplishing so much, with whichever word you may remember God, that will be His Great Name, for He will hear it and answer your call."⁴ Prince Dārā Shikōh is of the same opinion. He begins one of his works with the verse: "In the Name of One, Who hath no name. With whatever name thou callest Him, He uplifteth His Head."⁵ He further writes: "With what name should one call the Truth? Whatever name there is, it is one of the names of God." The residents of the monasteries repeated some Arabic names such as *Allāh* or *Allā-hū*.

CONGREGATIONS

SPIRITUAL congregations were held in the hospice under the presidency of the religious Preceptor. Disciples and outside visitors took their seats according to their rank. The Holy Qur'ān and *Mathnavī-i-Ma'nūī* were read. Religious stories and anecdotes were told. Visitors and newcomers asked questions and received appropriate answers pertaining to the mysteries of the spiritual world. At times the audience was so much enraptured that the hearers forgot their own being. In some of the

1. *Asrār-i-Ma'rafat*, p. 49, Bābā Lāl to Prince Dārā.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I., p. 173.

3. *Khūb-Tarang*, Punjab University MS., p. 17.

4. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, p. 486.

5. *Majma'-ul-bahrain*, B. I., 37 Eng., 79, Persian.

assemblies no one had the courage to question any statement made by the Master. The author of *Sīyar-ul-awliyā* gives us to understand that the presiding Preceptor through his spiritual power divined the doubts and problems arising in the minds of the audience and gave satisfaction without being asked any questions.¹

MONASTIC MUSIC AND SPONTANEOUS DANCE

ALTHOUGH we cannot emphatically assert that every hospice echoed with Sufic music and spontaneous dance, yet we are prone to think, as most of the contemporary authorities point out, that it was a common custom.² Luther had a great esteem for music. He writes : " Next to theology I give to music the highest place and honour ; and we see how David and all the saints have wrought their godly thoughts into verse, rhyme, and song."

In the congregations of the Sufic Shaikhs and their disciples, the Qavvāls or the spiritual singers sang in the hospice. The Sufist songs were generally in Persian, but verses in Hindi were also recited by the Qavvāls in these monastic meetings.³ The mystic music overflowed with exhortation, admonition, the longing of the soul to unite with the Source of all Creation, the Unity of God, the transitoryness of the material world and its renunciation. The soothing rhythmic songs, rich in Oriental thoughts and philosophy, kindled in the hearts of the hearers an intense Love for God, a strong craving to reach Him, an unshakable determination to curb their passions and, last but not the least, it impressed upon their minds the shortness of human life.

" Life is a bridge, a bridge that you shall pass over ;
You shall not build your house upon it."⁴

This world appeared to them an illusion. They became conscious of their own shortcomings.

Songs dealing with the attributes of God made them aware of His Presence everywhere, and overcome with spiritual bliss and mystic delight, they danced spontaneously. At times some were moved to such a state of ecstasy and trance that they expired. In a few opulent monasteries these singers received monthly salaries and sang whenever called upon to entertain the congregation.

1. Vide p. 130.

2. *Haft-Iqlīm*, p. 75.

Sīyar-ul-awliyā, pp. 270, 315, 319, 492, 501, 504, 505, 507, 512, 514.

3. Do p. 512 ; *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*, p. 57.

Sakīnat-ul-awliyā, p. 56 ; *Badāūnī*, III p. 11.

4. Arabic Inscription upon the Buland-Darwāza, Fatehpūrsikri.

It appears that these Qavvāls were given permits for spiritual singing (*Ijāzat-Nāma-Simā'*) by the presiding preceptors of the strongholds of spiritual knowledge.¹

Shaikh 'Abdul-Haq, the author of *Akhhbār-ul-akhhyār*, which he completed in 1590-91 A.D., referring to a meeting which he attended, writes : "I went and sat in front of the tomb. The spiritual musical performances in the congregation were of its highest and Qavvāls and the *Ṣūfīs* were excited."² Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn, a Muslim saint of mediæval India, was fond of hearing spiritual songs, so much so that in his hospice he appointed Qavvāls on monthly salaries, who sang before him at least once every day.³

Shaikh Burhān (1462-1562, 3 A.D.) used to compose and sing Hindi songs.⁴ Maulānā Wajīh-ud-dīn was in the habit of reciting Hindi songs very sweetly.⁵ *Ḥaẓrat* Miyān Mīr⁶ took great delight in hearing Sufic music from Qavvāls. He never employed any spiritual singers on salary but, if they came of their own accord, he enjoyed their music. Of music he liked that best which was set to Hindi verse.⁷

Miyān Shaikh Moḥī-ud-dīn Abū Yūsuf Yaḥiya (1602-1689 A.D.) was fond of hearing ecstatic songs. Mīrzā Bāqir, the Muḥtasib, in accordance with a royal ordinance of Aurangzib, suppressed all such assemblies throughout Ahmadabad. The Shaikh defied the order to abstain from listening to music in his congregations. The Muḥtasib, as the last resort, planned to bring the singers out of the convent of the Shaikh by force, but the mystic smelt mischief and prepared for resistance. Mīrzā Bāqir was persuaded by an Arab chief not to meddle with the Shaikh's affairs. The Shaikh then sent a letter to Aurangzib, who kissed it and issued orders to the Nāẓim of Gujarat, the Dīwān and the Qāẓī requiring them to censure Mīrzā Bāqir, the Muḥtasib, and to bid him refrain from troubling the Shaikh.⁸

Such was the glamour which the savant saints cast over rich and poor alike, because of their secluded ascetic lives, and miracle-working that even Mughal monarchs of such calibre and character as Aurangzib had

1. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, 505.

2. *Vide* 288.

3. *Safinat-ul-awliyā*, (Punjab University MS.), 64.

Haft-Iqlīm MS., 75.

Siyar-ul-awliyā, 315.

4. *Badāūnī*, II., 10.

5. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, 512.

Akhhbār-ul-akhhyār, 326.

6. A well-known mystic buried near Lahore (1550-1635 A.D.).

7. *'Amal-i-Ṣāleḥ*, MS., (a) 731, (b) 614.

Sakīnat-ul-awliyā, 75.

Safinat-ul-awliya, MS., 44.

8. *Mir'at-Aḥmadī*, S. 69.

o bow before them and allow them the joy of their monastic music and spontaneous dance, in contravention of the Imperial ordinance.

ROUTINE IN A HOSPICE

THOMAS A. Kempis has said : " Seek a convenient time to take heed to thyself and think of times of the benefits of God." The sombre, silent and calm night was regarded as the best time for meditation by the inmates of the monasteries. The mystic preceptors and disciples got up at midnight to repeat the Sacred Name and meditate. Some of them passed the whole nights in meditation and austerities in their cubicles. When it was morning, they washed their faces while repeating the Great Name. They assembled at the congregational hall and said their morning prayers in the company of the Preceptor. There the Qur'ān was read and the disciples again engaged themselves in repeating the *Ism-i-A'zam*. After two or three hours, i.e., at about 10 A.M. the spiritual Master retired to his private room. One by one the disciples interviewed him there. He made enquiries about their spiritual progress. Outside visitors were allowed to pay homage to the Sufic Guide, without any regard to the hour of the day or night. Meals were served after the *Chāshṭ* prayers. Victuals were distributed to all from the free kitchen of the monastery. All then rested till the *Zuhr* prayer at sun-down. After a siesta, they gathered again in the congregational hall for prayers and repetition of the Sacred Name. In this meeting the Preceptor delivered a spiritual discourse. After the '*Ishā*' prayers some Sufic work was read.

PERFORMANCE OF PRAYER AND MEDITATION

IN the words of St. Ambrose : " Prayer is the wing wherewith the soul flies to heaven ; and meditation the eye with which we see God." The Mughal mystics believed likewise. The congregational prayers were to be performed in the hall of the mosque and were meant to make the mind stable, peaceful and conscious of the presence of God.¹ The remaining time was to be employed in practising the repetition of the Great Name. A great religious Preceptor used to advise his disciples thus : " Every breath that we take is precious. The same we cannot take again. It should be employed in the repetition of the Name of God."² During the 24 hours, they were advised to perform repetition of the Holy Name on at least six occasions :—

1. From early dawn to the time when the sun shoots up from the horizon.

1. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, p. 442.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

2. From the time when the sun has well risen to *Chāsh̄t* prayers (about 11 o' clock).
3. From midday prayers (Digar—between 2 and 4 P.M.) to the evening prayers.
4. From the evening prayers to the '*Ishā* prayers when the night has closed in.
5. From the '*Ishā* prayers to midnight prayers.
6. From midnight to early dawn.

When a Preceptor was questioned as to the posture during meditation, he said : " It is better to sit in that posture in which congregational prayers are said, with hands resting on thighs. If one wants to sit with thighs lifted, he should take no support and ought to recline his head on his knees." They were also allowed to squat with crossed legs, but as it was a posture mostly used by the Jōgīs, few adopted this position while meditating.¹ It was a custom to perform meditations with clean dress and body.² They generally occupied themselves in repeating the two words—HŪ ALLĀH (He is God). HŪ appearing while the breath came in and ALLĀH when it went out,³ according to the Quranic verse, " And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification."⁴

READING OF THE HOLY QUR'ĀN

THE Šūfīs are agreed that the Qur'ān is the very word of God, and that it is neither created nor originated in time nor an innovation. At quite an early age they read the Qur'ān and most of them committed it to memory. During the month of Ramaḍān, they recited the Holy Book regularly and finished it at least once daily.⁵ Their religious preceptors instructed them to grasp its meaning intelligibly while reading. It was considered far better to read only one chapter intelligently than to go through fifteen chapters hurriedly. The mind was to be concentrated on the text and the meaning. The reading of the Holy Qur'ān was to be regular, and although the contents could be discussed and explained, which most of the preceptors were accustomed to make pellucid in their congregations for the improvement and progress of their disciples in the spiritual domain, yet it could not be questioned.⁶ Great care was taken to pronounce the Arabic text accurately and chastely. It was thought a great

1. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, 444.

2. *Akhbār-ul-akhhyār*, 245.

3. *Majma'-ul-bahrain*, 47.

4. The Qur'ān, Ch. XVII., 44.

5. *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi*, S. 41, 44.

6. *Khūb-Tarang*, MS. 3.

Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi, S. 58.

honour to be perfect in the recitation of the Holy Book and almost all strove to attain this.¹

MUNIMENT OF MYSTERIOUS MIRACLES

THE Šūfīs and mystics were agreed in confirming the miracles of the Šūfic saints. The miracles performed were of diverse nature, such as walking on water, entering into conversation with plants and beasts, disappearing in one place and appearing in a distant place without any obvious means of transportation, producing commodities procurable in far off countries at that time of the year, healing the sick and suffering and restoring the dead to life. In the opinion of Abū Maṣṣūr² working of wonders by saints is possible. They establish them as proofs of their veracity, just as the miracles of the prophets are evidence for the establishment of their claims.³

Jahāngīr writes that although the saints avoided such display: "Yet occasionally in the excitement of ecstasy an appearance is manifested unintentionally and without control, or for the sake of teaching some one, the exhibition is made."⁴ Prince Dārā gives us to understand that in the year 1634 A.D. although the doctors had declared his case hopeless, yet the Prince regained his health through Ḥaẓrat Miẓān Mīr, who gave him a cup of water to drink after passing his breath over it.⁵ Another mystic, Shaikh Bilawal, used to give water as a medicine to the visitors for their sick relations. About a Kashmir Šūfī, it is related that he escaped from his would-be assassins on account of his miraculous power, by which he changed his features.⁶ Badāūnī, after receiving some gifts from Shaikh Dāūd, made a representation to him, saying: "If you bestow on me the gift of a shirt, it will be light upon light." However it was not bestowed upon him and he obtained leave to depart. While at Saharanpur, Badāūnī received from a traveller that mysteriously conveyed gift of the shirt. He regarded it as a miracle.⁷

The contemporary documents swarm with stories of crotchety and quaint miraculous happenings. A distinction between what is remarkable and what is miraculous has to be borne in mind. Faith-healing is remarkable, but not miraculous. We have modern experiences of healing by

1. *Akhhār-ul-Akhyār*, 255.

2. Abū Maṣṣūr. 'Abdal-Kabīr ibn Tāhir al Baghdādī, d. 1037 A.H. 1627, 28 A.D.

3. *Al-Farq Bain-al-Firāq*, 203.

4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, 70.

5. *Safinat-ul-awliyā*, MS. 45.

6. *Khawāja, Khawind Maḥmūd* (d. 1640).

Tārīkh-i-'Azamī, 139.

'Amal-i-Šāleḥ, MS., (a) 733, (b) 616.

Bādshāhnāmā. B.I. II., 332.

7. Badāūnī, III., 57, 61.

faith. Auto-suggestion and the power of the mind over the body in certain diseases is an established fact.

WRITING OF CHARMS

IN Mughal India, men believed in magic, miracles, witchcraft, spells, sorcery, enchantments and charms. Bābar in his *Memoirs* writes : " I sent for the Sultāns : (Taimūr Sultān and Bugrā Sultān)... to come to the boats. Bugrā Sultān performed some of his enchantments. A high wind having risen, it began to rain."¹

Niccolao Manucci, the Venetian traveller, was not only famous as a doctor, but was rumoured to be capable of expelling demons from the bodies of the possessed. He states : " Here two things happened to me that I wish to recount, so that inquiring persons may learn that these people are much given to sorcery." He describes how the Rājā of Chitua took a fancy to a handsome horse, which Rājā Jai Singh had given to the traveller. The Rājā requested him to sell the horse. Mannucci was unwilling to part with it ; but " when it was time for my departure, the horse had lost the use of its legs, and was unable to move," through sorcery. The other incident is of the same nature. " One of my servants passing through a field of radishes, stretched out his hand to pluck one out of the ground, when his hand adhered in such a fashion to the radish that he could not take it away." The owner of the field was approached and was requested to liberate the servant. He took something as a fine and after beating the servant, recited some words and the servant was released.²

In 1672, during the reign of Aurangzīb, the superstitious terror of the Satnamis' magical skill had demoralised the spirits of the imperial troops, which were sent to quell their rising. At last Aurangzīb, who had the reputation of a saint working miracles ('Alamgīr zinda pīr), wrote out prayers and magical figures with his own hand and ordered these papers to be sewed on to the banners of his army in order to counteract the enemy's spells!³

These ideas and beliefs were not peculiar to the prevalent popular mental outlook on occult life in Mughal India. Even in England, the Stuart epoch was marked by the belief in black arts and the ' most scandalous blot on English humanity was witch-finding.'⁴

In India, illness and disease were alleged to be the influence of some evil spirits. The Shaikhs and mystics used to write charms to be worn

1. Babar's *Memoirs*, II. 381.

2. *A Pepys of Mogul India*, pp. 130, 160.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV. 244.

Sarkar : *A Short History of Aurangzib*, 163.

4. *England Under the Stuarts*, 32.

by the patient under the shirt either round the neck or on the arm, to checkmate injurious influence. They also at times, delegated the power of writing charms to some of their advanced students and permitted them to distribute them free of charge to the poor and the needy. Once a disciple questioned his spiritual Preceptor as to what he should write in a charm. The Master replied : " It is not inscribed either on my hand or on your palm. Charm is the name of God. Write it and give it unto the needy."¹

ISHWAR CHANDRA BHATNAGAR.

¹ *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, 429.

NUMERICAL COMPOUNDS IN PERSIAN

هفت

هفت *haft* : seven.

دھان بشت بہ ہفت آب خات و توبہ کند بہ دست تو کہ نگوید چنین سخن ہا باز *bi haft āb shustan*, to wash with seven waters. To wash and purify completely. Kamāl Ismā'il says (ARaj.):—

دھان بشت بہ ہفت آب خات و توبہ کند بہ دست تو کہ نگوید چنین سخن ہا باز
ہفت حال . Also see

آبا — — *ābā*, seven fathers. The seven heavens. The epithet is further elaborated as ہفت آبای علوی *haft ābāy 'ulwī*, the seven celestial fathers. The idea is probably taken from the ancient Egyptian belief of the heavens being fathers as against the earths being mothers. ہفت آبای علوی is contrasted with امہات سفلی *ummahāt-i suflī*, the terrestrial mothers.

آبگون چتر — — *ābgūn-i chatr*, seven water-coloured parasols. The seven heavens.

اجرام — — *ajrām*, seven bodies. The seven heavenly bodies, the seven planets. See اختر . *Khāqānī* says :—

ابو اسحاق ابراہیم کاندز جنب انعامش بہ یک ذرہ نمی سنجد سپہر و ہفت اجرامش

ہفت اختر . *ukhtān*, seven sisters. The seven planets. See اختر .

اختر — — *akhtar*, seven stars. The seven planets, the moon (ماہ) whose zone is the first heaven, Mercury (تیر) whose sphere is the second heaven, Venus (ناہید) whose abode is the third heaven, the sun whose zodiac is the fourth heaven, Mars (ہرام) in the fifth heaven, Jupiter (برجیس) in the sixth, and Saturn (کیوان) in the seventh heaven. The time taken by each to revolve, comes to some seven thousand years, the gross total coming to forty-nine thousand. It is said that, when all the

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seven rounds of the planets are over the world will come to an end. Mawlawī says :—

هفت اختر بی آب را کز آشیان خون می خوردند هم آب بر آتش زخم هم بادها شان بشکنم

Also see دوسرای.

غوٲ (Qutub), قطب, seven noble ones : namely, *akhyār* — — اخیار (Ghawth), اوتاد (Autād), ابدال (Abdāl), نقباء (Nuqabā), نجبا (Nujabā) and اولیاء (Awliyā). They are said to be three hundred and fifty-nine in all, divided into seven ranks, as stated above. This world is said to be kept in existence for their sake.

هفت اختر — — *aḡdahā*, seven dragons. The seven planets. See اژدها.

آسیا — — *āsiyā*, seven mills. The orbits of the seven planets. Šā'ib says :—

کیم من و چه بود رزق هم چو من موری که بار خاطر این هفت آسیا شده است

اصل — — *aṣl*, seven roots. (1) The seven earths. (2) The seven climates.

اعضاء — — *a'dā*, seven limbs. The whole of a man's body, comprising of the head with the neck, the chest with all inside it, the back with the organs, the two arms, and the two legs. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm says (Bahār) :—

نکازم را درستی نیست هر چند ز بار سجده هفت اعضاء شکسته

الوان — — *alwān*, seven colours. Different kinds of meat. Food sent down from heaven for Jesus Christ, which consisted of bread, salt, fish, vinegar, honey, butter, and cresses. This is based on the brief Quranic narrative of the feast demanded of Jesus Christ by certain of his followers. It is mentioned in Sura V, verses 114-115.

امام — — *imām*, seven imāms. The seven leaders of the seven schools of Sunnī Muslim thought, the 'Great Imām,' i.e., Abū Ḥanīfa, Imām Shāfi'i, Imām Mālik, Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, Imām Abū Yūsuf, Imām Muḥammad, and Imām Zufar.

اندام — — *andām*, seven bodies. (1) The seven members of the body, namely, the head, the breast, belly, arms, and legs ; or the head, hands, sides, and feet. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm says (Bahār) :—

چنان کز طاعت حق هفت اندام به وقت سجده کردن خاکسار است

بود محکوم امرت هفت اقلیم همیشه تا که نصف هشت چار است

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(2) The aorta or the great artery, called in Arabic نهرالبدن (the river of the body), so called because, if this artery be severed, the person will bleed to death.

اوراق — — *awraq*, seven leaves. The seven heavens.

اورنگ — — *awrang*, seven thrones. (1) The constellation of the Great Bear, comprising of seven stars, in Arabic called بنات النعش (*Banāt-un Na'sh*). It has the form of a vulture, in Arabic دب (*dubb*). 'Alī Marqadī (Samarqandī ?) says (Jah.):—

بگردا گرد چترش مدار هفت اقلیم چو گرد قطب شمالی مدار هفت اورنگ

(2) The seven heavens. B. Q. says that the compound can also be written without الف as هفتورنگ.

آیات زر — — *āyāt-i zar*, seven verses of gold. The seven planets. Badr Chāch says:—

مصحف نه جلد با هفت آیت زر ماه را هر مہی سی پاره دید از غیرت انوار من

(The مصحف نه جلد — the book with nine bindings—implies the nine heavens).

آئینه — — *ā'ina*, seven mirrors. The seven planets. They are also styled هفت آئینه خود بین *haft ā'ina-i khud bīn*, seven self-seeing mirrors. *Khāqānī* says:—

از رای تو صیقلی فلک را هفت آئینه در دکان به بینم

هفت رقعہ — — *aywān*, seven palaces. The seven heavens. See هفت رقعہ. And also هفت ایوان خضر *haft aywān-i khadrā* (also اخضر *akhḍar*), seven blue palaces. *Khāqānī* says:—

به دستش داد هفت ایوان خضر کلید هفت شادروان ادا کن

باز — — *bāz*, a player with seven. A companion, a partner.

بام — — *bām*, seven terraces. The seven heavens. *Khāqānī* says:—

فراو بر هفت بام و چار دیوار جهان کار نامه هشت بنیاد جهان انگیزته

بانو — — *bānū*, seven princesses. The seven planets.

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برادران — — *birādarān*, seven brothers. The seven stars in the Great Bear.

برگ — — *barg*, seven leaves. A medicinal seven-leaved herb, called *mezereon*. It is of two kinds, white and black. The white is called شخیص (*Shakhīṣ*), and the black هفت برگ (*Haft barg*)—*mezereon*.

بنا — — *binā*, seven structures. The seven heavens.

بنیان — — *bunyān*, same as هفت بنا • *Khāqānī* says :—

خود حضرتش جهان نیست کز عنصر کمالش برتر ز هفت بنیان بنیان تازه بینی

But he has used it also in the exactly contrary sense of the seven strata of the earth :—

رای تو و رای هفت طارم خصم تو فرود هفت بنیان

پاسبان — — *pāsbān*, seven guards. The seven planets.

پدر — — *pidar*, seven fathers. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets.

پر ثریا — — *par-i thurayyā*, seven feathers of the Pleiades. The smallest star in the Pleiades.

پرد — — *parda*, seven curtains. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven notes of the gamut. (3) The seven tunics of the eye. See هفت پرده چشم.

Hāfiẓ says :—

اشک حرم نشین نهان خانه مرا زان سوی هفت پرده به بازار می کشی

ازرق — — *parda-i azraq*, seven blue curtains. The seven heavens. *Khāqānī* says :—

از جور هفت پرده ازرق ز اشک لعل طوفان به هفت رقعۀ ادکن در آورم

پردۀ چشم — — *parda-i chashm*, seven veils of the eye. The seven tunics of the eye, namely, (1) Tunica conjunctive, (ملتحمه *Multaḥima*); (2) Cornea, (قرنیه *Qarniyya*); (3) Uvea, (عنیه *Inabiyya*), its colour varies in different persons; (4) Arachnoides, (عنكبوتیه *Ankabūtiyya*); (5) Retina, (شبکیه *Shabkiyya*); (6) Choroides, (مشیمیه *Mashimiyya*) and (7) Scleratica, (صلبیه *Ṣalbiyya*). Each of the two eyes is composed of seven tunics and three moistures.

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پرده کحلی — — *parda-i kuhlī*, seven collyrium-like veils. The seven heavens, on account of similarity in colour.

پرگار — — *parkār*, seven compasses. The seven heavens.

پشت کسی به سگ آبی رساندن — — *pusht-i kasī ba sag-i ābī rasāndan*, to bring the seven backs of a person to a water-dog. To overapplaud one, to overpraise a man. *Ashraf* says (*Bahār*) :—

من کجا و اختلاط آن سگ کو کز شرف با سگ آبی رساند هفت پشت خویش را

پوست — — *pūst*, seven hides. The seven heavens.

پیر — — *pīr*, seven old men. The seven master-readers (قراء) of the Holy Qur'ān, who were : Nāfi' of Medina, Ibn Kathīr of Mecca, Abū 'Umar of Baṣra, Ibn 'Āmīr of Syria, 'Āṣim of Kūfa, Ḥamza of Kūfa, and Kisā'i of Kūfa.

پیکر — — *paykar*, seven bodies. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets. See هفت اختر.

تان — — *tanān*, seven persons. (1) اصحاب الکهف (the People of the Cave). This term is used in the Qur'ān to denote the youths who in the West are commonly called 'the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.' See the *Encycl. Islam* under *Aṣḥābu'l Kahf*. (2) See هفت اخیار *supra*.

جزیره — — *jazīra*, seven islands. The seven climes.

جوش — — *jūsh*, a mixed metal composed of iron, antimony, lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. *Ashraf* says (*ChirH.*) :—

چار آئینه چهار اذکان به تن باشش پر هفت جوش گردون چکند

چراغ — — *chirāgh*, seven lamps. The seven planets.

چشم چرخ — — *chashm-i charḵh*, seven eyes of the heavens. (1) The seven planets. *Khāqānī* says :—

خسرو مشرق جلال الدین که برق خنجرش هفت چشم چرخ خضرا برنابدیش ازین

چشم خراس — — *chashm-i kharās*, seven eyes of the giant-mill. (1) The seven planets. (2) The seven heavens.

چشمه بهشت — — *chashma-i bihiṣht*, seven fountains of paradise. They are cleverly enumerated in the well-known couplet :

کوثر و کافور و میه و سلسبیل باز تسنیم و معین و زنجبیل

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حال — — *hāl*, seven circumstances. (1) In all conditions, always, continually. *Khāqānī* says :—

دل خاک پای او شد شستم به هفت آبش جان صید زلفش آمد دیدم به هفت حالش

هفت پرده چشم q.v. — *hujla-i nūr*, seven rooms of light. Same as حجله نور. Also see دو حجره خواب.

حرف آب — — *ḥarf-i ābī*, seven watery letters. The seven of the alphabets of the Arabic language, namely, ظ and ش، ف، س، ق، ز، ح.

حرف آتشی — — *ḥarf-i ātashī*, seven fiery letters. They are : ذ and ش، م، ف، ط،

ق، ط، غ، ض، ص، خ : — *ḥarf-i isti'lā*, seven high letters. حرف استعلاء and ظ.

خ، د، ع، ل، ح، د : — *ḥarf-i khākī*, seven earthy letters. حرف خاکی and غ.

ت، ص، ن، ی، و، ب : — *ḥarf-i hawā'ī*, seven airy letters. حرف هوایی and ض.

حکایت — — *hikāyat*, seven stories. (1) The stories related by the seven princesses to the Sasanian emperor, Bahrām Gūr, as versified in the *Quintette* by Nizāmī of Ganja. (2) The chief qualities of the هفت اندام q.v.

خاتون — — *khātūn*, seven ladies. The seven planets. *Khāqānī* :—

هفت خاتون را درین خرگاه سبز داه این درگاه والا دیده ام

خاصیت — — *khāṣṣiyyat*, seven peculiarities. (1) The chief characteristics of the seven limbs of the body, the head, the breast, belly, arms and legs. (2) The seven planets. See هفت اختر. (3) The seven countries of the world. (4) The seven stars affecting the destinies of the seven countries.

خانه زرین — — *khāna-i zarrīn*, seven golden houses. The seven heavens. *Khāqānī* says :—

اجرام هفت خانه زرین به سوگ تو بر هفت نیم خانه مینا گریسته

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خراس — — *kharās*, seven giant-mills. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets

خروار کوس — — *kharwār-i kūś*, seven ass-loads of drum. The seven heavens

خرینه — — *kharzīna*, seven treasures. (1) The seven inner parts of the body, namely, the stomach, liver, lung, hearts, gall, spleen and kidney. (2) The seven heavens.

خط — — *khatt*, seven lines. (1) The seven lines on the cup of Jam viz., خط جور *Khatt-i jawr*, خط بغداد *Khatt-i Baghdād*, خط بصره *Khatt-i Baṣra*, خط ازرق *Khatt-i Azraq*, خط اشک *Khatt-i ashk*, خط کاسه گر *Khatt-i kāsagar*, and خط فرودینه *Khatt-i farūdīna*. خط ازرق is also called خط سبز *Khatt-i sabz*, خط سیاه *Khatt-i Siyāh*, and خط شب *Khatt-i Shab*; while خط اشک is also named خط خطیر *Khatt-i khatīr*; and خط فرودینه is also termed خط فرود *khatt-i farūd*. Qā'ānī :—

به هفت خط و چار حد به هر دیار و هر بلد نزون ز حصرو حد و عد تراست جان نثار ها

(2) The seven climates.

خطر گاه — — *khatargāh*, seven dangerous zones. (1) The seven climes. (2) The seven planets. Khāqānī says :—

ابن زایت نگون سرو دخیس یریده دم بر غافلان هفت خطر گاه بر آورد

خلیفه — — *Khalīfa*, seven monarchs : (1) The stomach, liver, thighs, heart, gall, milt and kidneys. (2) The soul, reason, sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. (3) The seven limbs on which the body is supported in prostrating during the Muslim prayer, viz., the forehead, palms of the hands, knees, points of great toes. (4) The seven states of the heart, flowing (صدر), beating (قلب), distemper in the short ribs (شغاف), heart's core (مهیجة القلوب) and bleeding of the heart (مهیجة القلوب). (5) The seven inauspicious things, viz., علیط *Ilyatt* : which is the name of a certain tree, عریم *Arīm* : a calamity, سرموش *Sarmūsh* (or *Sarmash*, a kind of cider-apple); کلاب *Kulāb* : hydrophobia; ذو ذوابه *dhū dhuwāba* : a comet; لیحان *Lihyān* : a pot-hole in the ground, and کید *Kayd* : war, vomit.

خم — — *khum*, seven jars. The seven heavens.

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خوان — — *khūwān*, seven tables. (1) The seven heavens. It is also used as هفت خوان گردون. Badr Chāch says :—

زان پیش کا سمان را طباخ صبح بنهد بر هفت خوان گردون یک طاسک معصفر

(2) A road between Iran and Turan, along which only two warriors, Rustam and Isfandi-yār, successfully completed their journeys. Each of them met with seven adventures on the way, and at the successful completion of every one each held a feast, whence the name هفت خوان (seven dining-tables). These two expeditions are also named after the two champions stated above.

خواهران — — *khwāharān*, seven sisters. The seven stars in the Great Bear. Badr Chāch says :—

پرچم بیرق تو شد گیسوی هفت خواهران چرمه رایت به خور روز و غا قران گرفت

داداران — — *dādarān*, seven brothers. Same as هفت خواهران q. v.

دانه — — *dāna*, seven grains. A dish composed of seven different sorts of fruits and herbs dressed with syrup which, on the tenth day of Muḥarram, they distribute in Persia to neighbours and the poor, in commemoration of the death of Ḥusayn, son of 'Alī.

دائره — — *dā'ira*, the seven revolvers. The seven heavens. Badr Chāch says :—

آن جام زر که بر سرطاس زمرد است در گرد هفت دائره گردان برای ماست

دختر خضرا — — *dukhtar-i khadrā*, the seven green daughters. The seven planets. Mentioned without خضرا the epithet هفت دختر also implies the seven stars comprising the Great Bear. *Khāqānī* says :—

ازین هر هفت کرده هفت دختر چو طبعث چرخ بانوی ندارد

در — — *durr*, seven pearls. The seven planets. Also :

ددر — — *durar*, seven pearls.

در هفت — — *dar haft*, seven in seven. (1) The seven articles of a lady's toilet, namely, antimony, woad, rouge, ceruse, gold-leaf, etc. These articles are applied to seven parts of the body : hands, feet, eyes, eyebrows, both sides of the face, and cheeks. See شش بانوی پیر. (2) The seven chief characteristics of the seven limbs of the body. (3) The seven

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planets which affect the destinies of the world. Every climate of the earth is related to a planet: first to Saturn, under which falls India: second to Jupiter which rules Khatā and Khutan; third Mars, dominating Turkey; fourth the sun, influencing Irāq and Khurāsān; fifth Venus, affecting Transoxiana; sixth Mercury, controlling Rome; and seventh the moon which rules the northern hemisphere. (4) The seven countries. (5) The seven climes. (6) The seven oceans. See هفت دریا.

دریا — — *daryā*, seven seas, namely, Caspian Sea, Sea of Oman, Red Sea, Sea of Barbary, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Black Sea. Khāqānī says:—

نمازی نیست گرچه هفت دریا اندرون دارد کسی کاندر پرستش هست هفت اندام کسلانش

دریای اخضر — — *daryā-i akhḡdar*, seven green oceans. The seven heavens.

دستنبو — — *dastanbū*, seven perfumes. The seven planets. Khāqānī:—

در کف بخت بلندش ز اختران هفت دستنبوی زیبا دیده ام

دکان — — *dukkān*, seven shops. The seven climates. Khāqānī says:—

ازان دو عاقیر صحرای دلها درین هفت دکان گیای نیای

دور — — *dawr*, seven revolutions, cycles.—(1) Each cycle of years is said to consist of one (according to some, seven) thousand years. Each revolution (دور) is related to a planet. When all the seven revolutions end, the world will come to end. Khāqānī says:—

پیش کعبه گشته خون باران زمیں بوس از نیاز واسمان را در طواش هفت دوران دیده اند

دوزخ — — *dūzakḡh*, seven hells. The seven stages of Hell, viz., مقر (*Saqar*), جہنم (*Jaḥīm*), جحیم (*Ḥuṭama*), نطی (*Nuṭayy*), سعیر (*Sa'ir*), هطمه (*Huṭama*), and هاویه (*Hāwiya*), which is the worst of all.

ده — — *dih*, seven towns. (1) The seven heavens. Also and particularly as هفت ده زیر, seven lower towns, signifies (2) the seven climes. As in Khāqānī:—

درین هفت ده زیرو نه شهر بالا و رای خرد ده نیای نیای

راه — — *rāh*, seven paths. The seven tunics of the eye. See هفت پرده چشم. Rsh. here quotes Hāfiz:—

اشک حرم نشین نهان خانه مرا از سوی هفت راه به بازار می کشی

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This is, however, misplaced, as the correct reading of the second hemistich, is هفت پرده and not هفت راه. See هفت پرده supra.

رخشان — — *rakhshān*, seven shining ones. The seven planets.

رصد — — *raṣad*, seven watch-towers. The seven climes of the earth.

رقعہ — — *ruq'a*, seven sheets. (1) The seven strata of the earth. (2) The seven climes. *Khāqānī* says :—

زیک عکس شمشیرش این هفت رقعہ تصاویر آن هفت ایوان نماید

Also سی مهره ماه صیام *haft ruq'a-i pāstān*, seven old sheets. See سی مهره ماه صیام.

رقعہ ادکن — — *ruq'a -i adkan*, seven black sheets. The seven climes of the earth. See هفت پرده ازرق.

رقعہ خضرا — — *ruq'ah-i khadrā*, seven green sheets. The seven heavens.

رنگ — — *rang*, seven colours :— (1) The colours related to the planets, i.e., black to Saturn, grey to Jupiter, red to Mars, yellow to the sun, white to Venus, blue to Mercury, and green to the moon. (2) A species of beautiful Indian rose of many colours called گل قرمزی *gul-i-qirmizī*. *Asadī* says (*Rsh.*) :—

هزاران صفت گل دیدہ زسنگ ز صد برگ و دوری و از هفت رنگ

(3) A kind of painting or embroidery. *Khāqānī* says :—

هر هفته هفت عید و رفیقان هفت بام آذین هفت رنگ به بندند پردرش

(4) The ornaments of a woman.

رنگی — — *rangī*, seven-coloured. Capricious, artful, cunning.

رواق — — *rawāq*, seven vaults. The seven heavens.

زردہ — — *zarda*, seven yellows. A kind of narcissus, the best of its genus, also called صد برگ.

زمین — — *zamīn* (also زمی *zamī*), seven lands. (1) The seven climes. (2) The seven lands : ربکا (*Rabkā*), اخلدہ (*Akhlada*) the abode of the scorpions of Hell, عرقہ ('*Araqa*) a place for the spiders of Hell, عربیا ('*Arabiyyā*) the abode of the hawks of Heaven, هوملتا (*Hūmaltā*), سجن

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(*Sijjīn*) it has the register of the deeds of the victims, عجیبا ('*Ajība*) the place of Iblīs (Satan) and his followers.

زندان — — *zindān*, seven prisons. The world, as consisting of seven climes. *Khāqānī* says :—

جان یوسف زاد را کا زاد کردن همت است وارهان زین چار میخ و هفت زندان وارهان

سبع — — *sab'*, seven sevens. (1) The seven *manzils* (stages) of the Qur'ān. The reciters of the Qur'ān (قراء) fixed seven days (a week) for the finishing of the whole Qur'ān. Whatever they read in one day came to be known as one stage. Thus the Qur'ān comprises seven "stages." In the formula فمی بشوق each one of the seven letters is the initial of the Sūra of the Qur'ān wherewith the *manzil* begins. Respectively the letters stand for the Suras : (1) فاتحه, (2) مائده, (3) یونس, (4) بنو اسرائیل, (5) شعرا, (6) وصافات, and (7) قاف. (2) To some the contents of the Qur'ān are of seven kinds (a) وعده promise, (b) وعید threat, (c) وعظ sermons, (d) قصص stories, (e) امر commandments, (f) نهی prohibitions and (g) ادعیه prayers.

سرای — — *sarāy*, seven houses. The seven climes. *Khāqānī* :

گیتی ز دست نوحه به پای اندر آمده رخنه به سقف هفت سرای اندر آمده

سقف — — *saqf*, seven roofs. The seven heavens.

سلام — — *salām* seven *salāms* (greetings). The seven verses of the Qur'ān commencing with the word سلام : (1) XXXVII, 58—سلام قولا من (Peace, a word from the Merciful Lord), (2) XXXVII 79—سلام على نوح في العالمين (Peace on Noah among nations), (3) XXXVII, 109—سلام على ابراهيم (Peace be on Abraham), (4) XXXVII, 120—سلام على موسى و هارون (Peace on Moses and Aaron), (5) XXXVII, 130—سلام على ال ياسين (Peace be on Elias), (6) XXXVII, 181—سلام على المرسلين (Peace be on the Apostles), [and (7) XCVII, 5—سلام هي حتى مطلع الفجر (Peace ! it is till the break of the morning).

سلطان — — *sultān*, seven *sultāns*. (1) The seven planets. (2) The *Sultān* of *Khurāsān*, *Sultān Ibrāhīm Adham*, *Sultān Bāyazīd* of *Bisṭām*,

هفت

Sultān Abū Sa'īd Abu'l Khayr, Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Sultān Sanjar, Sultān Ismā'il Sāmānī. Khāqānī :—

شاه ملت پاسبان را برفلك هفت سلطان پاسبان بینی بهم

سيل — — sayl, seven torrents. The seven heavens.

شادروان — — shādurwān, seven canopies. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven climes. It is further qualified as being :

هفت شادروان ادکن haft shādurwān-i adkan, seven black or sandy canopies. See هفت ایوان خضرا

شمع — — sham', seven candles. The seven planets. Says Badr Chāch :

ازدوده چراغ تو یک ذره هفت شمع از بهر پنج شاخ تونه چرخ چون حباب

شمع بی دخان — — sham' bi dukhān, seven smokeless candles. Same as above. Khāqānī says :—

از پی افروزش بزم جلالش دان و بس نورها کین هفت شمع بی دخان افشاند ه اند

شمع درخشان — — sham'-durakhshān, seven brilliant candles. Same as q. v. هفت شمع

صحیفه — — saḥīfa, seven books. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets. (3) The crystalline or the empyrean heaven and the ninth heaven, supposed to be the throne of God.

طارم — — tāram, seven vaults. The seven heavens.

طبق — — ṭabaq, seven strata. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven earths.

طبقه — — ṭabaqa, same as هفت پرده q. v.

جان شکار jān shikār, (contracted form of جان شکار jān shikār), seven soul-hunting boys. The seven planets. Khāqānī :—

چرخ نارنج گون چو بازیچه در کف هفت طفل جان شکر است

طلای خضرا — — ṭilāy khadrā, seven green golds. The seven heavens.

علف خانه — — 'alaf khāna, seven grass-houses. The seven climes. Khāqānī says :—

آتش ز نیم هفت علف خانه فلك چون بنگریم نزل فراوان صبح گاه

هفت

فرش — — *farsh*, seven floors. (1) The seven climes of the earth. (2) The seven strata of the earth.

فرشته ایام — — *ferishta-i ayyām*, seven angels of the days of the week. The seven archangels according to the Jewish belief.

فعل قلوب — — *fi'l-i qulūb*, seven “verbs of the heart.” In Arabic grammar, the seven verbs, *حسب* (*hasiba*), *ظن* (*ẓanna*), *خال* (*khāla*), used to imply a doubt; *علم* (*‘alima*), *رأى* (*ra’ā*), *وجد* (*wajada*), used to signify certainty and *زعم* (*za‘ama*), implying either a doubt or a certainty of idea — are known as the “seven verbs of the heart,” for they express the feelings. They are also termed, “verbs of doubt and certainty.”

قراء — — *qurra’*, seven readers of the Qur’ān. See هفت پیر. *Khāqānī* :—

پس از تحصیل دین از هفت مردان پس از تاویل وحی از هفت قراء

قفل — — *qufl*, seven locks. (1) Seven amulets. (2) Seven prayers.

قلعه خیبر — — *qal’a-i Khaybar*, seven forts of *Khaybar*, namely, *Katiba* (کتیبه), *Nā’im* (ناعم), *Shaqq* (شق), *Qamūṣ* (قموص), *Naṭāt* (نطاة), *Tih* (طیح) and *Salām* (سلام).

قلعه دوار — — *qal’a-i dāvār*, seven revolving fortresses. The seven heavens. Thus in *Badr Chāch* :—

فضای عرصه یک سرستون بارگش محیط نه ریض هفت قلعه دوار

قلعه مینا — — *qal’a-i mīnā*, seven glassy forts. The seven heavens. *Khāqānī* says :—

ازاشک خون پیاده و ازدم کم سوار غوغا به هفت قلعه مینا بر آورم

قلم — — *qalam*, seven pens. The seven modes of writing, called *Thulth* (ثلث), *Muḥaqqaq* (محقق), *Tawqī’* (توقيع), *Rayḥān* (ریحان), *Riqā’* (رقاع), *Naskh* (نسخ), and *Ta’līq* (تعلیق). All these are comprised in the following couplet :—

ثلث است و محقق است و توقيع ریحان و رقاع و نسخ و تعلیق

هفتک *haftak*, a seventh. (1) One-fourth of the Qur’ān. (2) A volume, a book.

هفت

کار — — *kār*, seven works. A texture or cloth of seven colours. Ibn Yamīn says (Rsh.) :—

باز فراش چمن یعنی نسیم نوبهار بر چمن گسترد فروشی از پرند هفت کار

کاسه — — *kāsa*, seven cups. The seven heavens.

کحلی — — *kuhlī*, seven antimony-coloured ones. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven climes.

کردن — — *kardan*, to perform 'seven.' To decorate, adorn and beautify. See هر هفت.

کره — — *kura*, seven spheres. The seven heavens.

کشور — — *kishwar*, seven countries. (1) The seven climes. See چار ملت infra. (2) The seven countries that have great kingdoms, namely, China, Turkistan, India, Turan, Iran, Syria and Rome. Some count Europe instead of Turkistan.

کوه — — *kūh*, seven mountains, namely, Caucasus, Damāwand, Sarāndīp, Gulistān, in the vicinity of Tūs, Wazn, Dazkiyān, and China.

کهنه — — *kuhna*, seven old-ones : friend, associate, book, wine, bath, sword and china.

گانه — — *gāna*, seven-fold. (1) A sea. (2) A castle.

گاه — — *gāh*, seven places. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven climes.

گره — — *girah*, seven knots. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets. (3) The seven climes.

گنبد — — *gunbad*, seven domes. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven domes or cupolas built by Bahrām Gūr, better known as *Haft Manẓar* (هفت منظر).

گنجینه — — *ganjīna*, seven treasures. (1) Gold, silver, tin, lead, iron copper, and brass (bronze). (2) The seven ways in which the royalty of Persia used to show their generosity, namely, cash, jewels, robes of honour, animals, food, land and gardens. (3) It was the custom of the Iranian kings to keep their treasures at seven places, hence the name. (4) The seven treasures of Khusraw Parwīz.

هفت

گیسودار — — *gisūdār*, seven possessors of locks of hair, namely, comets. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets. *Khāqānī* :—

در رکابش هفت گیسودار و شش خاتون ردیف گوهر از الماس و مشک از پرنیان افشاند اند

هفت گیسودار Out of the forty-eight images of heaven seven are called

گیسودار چرخ — — *gisūdār-i charkh*, seven heavenly possessors of locks of hair. Same as هفت گیسودار. *Khāqānī* says :—

چون دو لشکر باهم افتادند چون گیسوی حور هفت گیسودار چرخ از گرد معجز ساختند

هفت پرده چشم — — *lāy chashm*, seven folds of the eye. Same as هفت پرده چشم q. v.

مجمره — — *mijmara*, seven censers. The seven orbits of the planets.

محراب فلک — — *mihrāb-i falak*, seven vaults of the sky. The seven planets

محیط — — *muḥīt*, seven containers. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven seas : the Sea of China, the Western Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, the Sea of Tiberius, the Euxine, the Caspian and the Sea of *Khwārazm*. *Badr Chāch* says :—

بحر سخاوت ترا قلّه قبه حباب از سرموج اوج این هفت محیط برتراست

Also see چار بسیط.

مرد — — *mard*, same as هفت مردان q.v. *Khāqānī* says :—

بر دعای دولتش در شش جهت هفت مرد از یک زبان بینی بهم

مردان — — *mardān*, seven men. (1) The Prophet Muḥammad, the four Caliphs, and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. (2) Same as هفت تنان q. v. *Khāqānī* says :—

رسته دندان نیاز آن جا و پیر هشت خلد ازین دندان طفیل هفت مردان دیده اند

مردان معظم — — *mardān-i mu'azzam*, seven great men. Same as هفت مردان q. v.

مشعله — — *mish'ala*, seven torches. The seven planets.

هفت

ملت — — *millat*, seven creeds. The seven creeds of the Muslims, which form the real basis of the so-called seventy-two creeds (هفتاد و دو ملت). The original seven are : Jabrī, Qadarī, Mushabbiha, Munazziha, Sunnī, Shī'ī, and Khārijī. Nazīrī says :—

کتاب هفت ملت گر بخواند آدمی عامی است نخواند تا ز جزو آشنائی داستانی را

ملل — — *milal*, same as هفت ملت q. v. Sanjar Kāshī eulogises Ḥusayn Qilich (Bahār) :—

رشعی از معرفتش ترجمه چار کتاب برخی از معدلش ضابطه هفت ملل

منبر — — *minbar*, seven pulpits. The seven heavens, firmaments. Khāqānī says :—

خامه زده عطارد در لاجورد گردون بنوشته نام سلطان بالای هفت منبر

مندل — — *mandal*, seven circles. The seven heavens.

منزل — — *manzil*, seven stages. (1) The seven heavens. (2) Same as هفت سبع q. v. (3) The seven valleys mentioned in Farīdu'ddīn 'Aṭṭār's celebrated mathnawī, the *Manṭiqu'ut-Tayr*. They are : (1) وادی طلب (the Valley of Scarch), (2) وادی عشق (the Valley of Love), (3) وادی معرفت (the Valley of Knowledge), (4) وادی استغنا (the Valley of Contentment), (5) وادی توحید (the Valley of Unity), (6) وادی حیرت (the Valley of Bewilderment), and (7) وادی فقر و فنا (the Valley of Poverty and Annihilation).

مهره زردی — — *muhra-i zarrīn*, seven golden beads. The seven planets. Khāqānī says :—

قضا به بوالعجبی تا کیت نماید لعب به هفت مهره زردین و حقه مینا

سرمش — — *mīwa*, seven fruits, namely کشمش (dried grapes), سرمش (a kind of rough cider-apple), انجیر (fig), انگور (grapes), شفتالو (peach), خرما (date) and آلوچه (a Damascene plum)— all taken together. Malik Mashriqī (Qummī ?) says (Bahār) :—

چندین دل شکسته ز سوء المزاج غم بیار هفت میوه این سبز طارم است

هفت

نراد فلک — — *narrād-i falak*, seven *nard*-players of the sky. The seven planets. Says *Khāqānī* :—

تخت ملک نرد را زان سوکه بدخواهان اوست هفت نراد فلک خانه مششدر ساختند

نطم — — *naṭ'*, seven leather seats. (1) The seven climes. (2) The seven strata of the earth.

نقطه — — *nuqṭa*, seven dots. (1) The seven planets. (2) Decoration.

نوبتی چرخ — — *nawbatī-i charkh*, seven guards of the sky. The seven planets.

نیم خایه — — *nīm khāya*, seven half eggs. The seven heavens.

نیم خایه مینا — — *nīm khāya-i mīnā*, seven glassy half-eggs. The seven heavens. See هفت خانه زرین.

والای خضرا — — *wālāy khadrā*, seven green exalted-ones. The seven planets.

وچهار — — *wa chahār*, seven and four. The seven planets and the four elements.

وشش — — *wa shash*, seven and six. The seven planets (see هفت اختر) and the six dimensions (see شش جهت).

وشش در تنگ — — *wa shash dar-i tang*, seven and six narrow doors. The seven countries and six dimensions.

1. Almost all the dictionaries of the Persian language (ARaj., BAj., BQ., Qul. Kashf., MF., Richardson among them) have written it as هفت نراد فلک (the seven lineages of the sky) and explained it as implying the seven planets. The correct reading, however, seems to be نراد (*narrād*— from *nard*, after the Arabic measure for *Mubālāgha*). *Khāqānī* uses it in two of his couplets :—

تخت نرد ملک را زان سوکه بدخواهان اوست هفت نراد فلک خانه مششدر ساختند
بردم از نراد گیتی يك دوداد اندر سه زخم گر چه از چار آخشبیج و پنج حس در ششدر است

The metre of the couplet defies and easily precludes the reading نراد and confirms نراد as correct. By the way, the word مششدر in the second hemistich is intriguingly interesting. The poet has not only formed نراد after the Arabic usage from نرد but has also coined مششدر as if it were an adverb from the Arabic (l) quadriliteral root ششدر.

هفت

و شش و پنج و چهار — — *wa shash wa panj wa chahār*, seven and six and five and four. The seven planets, the six dimensions, the five senses and the four elements.

و نه — — *wa nuh*, seven and nine. The seven articles of a lady's toilet (see هفت در هفت), and the nine ornaments of a lady, namely, سرآویزه (head-pendant), گوش واره (earring), سلسله (chain), حلقه بینی (nose-ring), انگشتر (ring), دست ابرنج (bracelet), بازو بند (amulet), گلو بند (neck-tie, necklace), and خلخال (a ring of gold or silver — worn by Arabian ladies round their ankles). 'Amīd Daylamī says (Rsh.):—

عروس دولت تو باد هفت و نه کرده به بام قصر جلال تو تا ابد مسکون
and Amīr *Khusrāw* (Bahār):—

هفت و نه این صنم عشوه ساز طفل فریب آمد و بر نا نواز
Also see شش و پنج.

و هشت — — *wa hasht*, seven and eight. (1) High words. Muḥammad Qulī Salīm says (ibid.):—

آسان بود شکست صف بی دلان عشق یک ناوک از نگاه تو و هفت و هشت ما
(2) Litigation. (3) The bowl of a dog.

har haft, each of the seven. Decoration, the seven articles of a lady's toilet (see هفت در هفت). *Khāqānī* says:—

چون تو هر هفت کرده ای حور در تو هر هفت ز یور اندازد
See هفت دختر خضرا.

hafta dūst, a week's friend. A slight acquaintanc, an inconstant friend.

هشت — — *hasht*, seven-eight. Idle talk, abuse.

هیکل — — *haykal*, seven bodies. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven climes. (3) Amulets, charms. It is a prayer read in parts for seven days, and is believed to keep one safe and sound. *Khāqānī* says:—

این نامه هفت عضو مرا هفت هیکل است کاین کند زهول سباع و شهوام

هیکل رضوان — — *haykal-i riḍwān*, the seven palaces of the Gardener. The eight grades of Paradise.

هشت

هشت باغ *hasht bāgh*, eight gardens. The eight heavens. *Khāqānī* says:—

بزم چو هشت باغ بین باد چهار جوی دان خاصه که ساز عاشقان حور لقای نوزند

هشت باغ بقا — — *bāgh-i baqā*, eight gardens of immortality. The eight heavens.

بستان — — *bustān*, same as هشت باغ q. v. *Khāqānī* says:—

حبذا خاک مدینه حبذا عین النبی هر دو اصل چارجوی و هشت بستان آمده

هشت — — *bihisht*, eight paradises, namely, جنت عدن (*Jannat-i 'Adan*), جنت النعیم (*Jannat'un Na'im*), جنت الماوی (*Jannatu'l Mawā*), دارالسلام (*Dāru's Salām*), دارالقرار (*Dāru'l Qarār*), فردوس (*Firdaws*), خلد (*Khuld*). *Khāqānī*:—

هشت بهشت و نه فلک هست بهای دولت دولت یوسفیت راعقل به هفده مشتری

هشت بهشت — — *jinān*, (also هشت بنیاد جنان), eight gardens. The eight heavens. See هفت بام.

هشت بهشت — — *khuld*, eight everlasting homes. Same as هشت بهشت. *Khāqānī* نای چون شاه حبش ده ترک خاور پیش و پس هشت خلد از طبع و نه چشم از میان انگیخته

The epithet نه چشم — nine eyes—in the second hemistich signifies the nine holes in the lute, and the ده ترک خاور in the first hem., are the eight fingers and two thumbs of the singers playing upon a flute, likened to ten sunny-faced Turks, who form the retinue of the king. In another place these ده ترک assume the form of ده دایگان *dah dāyagān*, ten nurses; when the same poet says:

نای است چون طفل حبش ده دایگانش ترک و ش نه چشم دارد شوخ و خوش صد چشم حیران بین درو

دهان — — *dahān*, eight mouths. (1) The wood of aloes. (2) Mallows, Persian hollyhock used as a medicine to cure one suffering from gout.

صفات — — *ṣifāt*, the eight attributes of God, namely, سمع : hearing, علم : knowledge, اراده : will, کلام : speech, بصر : seeing, قدرت : might, and ادراک : cognition, as in *Khāqānī*:—

زده حواس برون شو به کوی هشت صفات که هست حاصل این هشت هشت باغ بقا

هشت

گنج — — *ganj*, eight treasures—those of *Khushraw Parwiz*.

ماوی — — *māwa*, eight resorts. (1) The eight heavens. (2) The eight paradises.

مرعی — — *mar'ā*, eight pastures. As above.

منظر — — *manẓar*, eight scenes. (1) The eight paradises. See چار اصل . (2) The Zodiac with the orbits of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon.

و چهار چشم فلک — — *wa chāhar chashm-i falak*, eight and four eyes of the sky. The twelve Signs of the Zodiac. Says *Khāqānī* :—

دای همام گفت که ما خضر دولتم کز هشت و چار چشم فلک دید بان ماست

هزاری — — *hazārī*, one of eight thousands. In the idiom of the wrestlers, one who performs eight thousand sittings in exercising. *Najāt* says (*Bahār*) :—

چه بحب تخته اگر عود قاری گردد جای گیر قدمت هشت هزاری گردد

هیکل رضوان — — *haykal-i riḍwān*, the eight palaces of the Gardener. The eight heavens, eight paradises.

نُه

نه بام *nuh bām*, nine terraces. The nine skies.

بام ایوان — — *bām-i aywān*, nine terraces of the building. The nine skies.

پایه — — *pāya*, nine feet. (1) The nine heavens. (2) A pulpit. See سه پایه .

پدر — — *pidar*, nine fathers. (1) The nine heavens. Also see سه ولد . (2) The seven planets with the dragon's head and tail. (3) Same as (2). نه حجره .

پرده — — *parda*, nine curtains. The nine heavens.

چشم — See هفت خلد .

نه

حجره — — *hujra*, nine rooms. (1) Same as نه پردہ q.v. (2) The nine rooms of the harem of the Prophet Muḥammad. Nizāmī says (Rsh.) :—

دل از کار نه حجره پرداخته بنه حجره آسمان تا خته

حصار مینا — — *hiṣār-i mīnā*, nine blue castles. Same as نه پردہ q.v.

خراس — — *kharās*, nine mills. Same as نه پردہ q.v.

خرگاه — — *khargāh*, nine tents. Same as نه و ده q.v.

ده — — *dah*, (also *nuh wa dah*), nine and ten. The decoration and adornment of women.

رواق — — *riwāq*, nine palaces. The nine heavens. Qā'ānī says :—

پس از ورود سرود از برای سال طرازت زهی زمین تو مسجود نه رواق معلق

Also see گوهر دو.

سیزده — — *sīzdah*, nine-thirteen. A kind of gambling, in India called نوتیری (*Naw-tērī*— nine-thirteen).

شوهر — — *shawhar*, nine husbands. The nine heavens. Badr Chāch :—

دایه مهر وے را بہر بلوغ سہ پسر خواب گاہ چار زن در زیر این نہ شوہر است

شہر بالا — — *shahr-i bālā*, nine high cities. The nine heavens.

Also see نہ شہر (nine cities). See ہفت دہ زیر.

صحیفہ — — *saḥīfa*, nine books, (also صحیفہ گردون — — *ṣaḥīfa-i gardūn* nine books of the sky). The nine heavens. Khāqānī says :—

نہ صحیفہ است فلک ہفت دہ آیت زیرش عاشقان این ہمہ از سودہ سودا شنوند

طارد — — *tāram*, nine palaces. Same as نه پردہ q.v.

طاق — — *tāq*, nine shelves. As above.

طبق — — *ṭabaq*, nine plates. As above.

قصر — — *qaṣr*, same as نہ طارد q. v. Also see چار اصل.

کاخ — — *kākh*, same as نہ طارد q. v.

د

گنبد — — *gunbad*, nine domes. The nine heavens. Also دواډ نه گنبد *nuh gunbad-i dawwār*—the nine revolving domes.

گوهر — — *gawhar*, nine pearls, namely, لعل (ruby), یاقوت (adamant), فیروزه (turquoise), الماس (diamond), نیلم (sapphire), زمرد (emerald), در (pearl), عقیق (cornelian), and مرجان (coral).

مقرنس — — *muqarnas*, nine parlours. The nine heavens. Also دواډ نه مقرنس *nuh muqarnas-i dawwār*—the nine revolving parlours.

د

دهان انگشت بر (به) دهان گرفتن *dah angusht bar (bi) dahān giriftan*, to place ten fingers on the mouth. (1) To show astonishment and helplessness. (2) To cry, lament, or weep. (3) To show submission, humility, or loneliness. *Khusraw* says (*Rsh.*):—

زهر آن که ده انگشت بر دهان گیری دهان ز مصلحت آن که می بماند باز

آیت — — *āyat*, ten verses. A circlet is usually employed by the scribes of copies of the *Qur'ān* to indicate the end of a sentence (also sometimes a clause), and is thus a mark of punctuation. In the early stages this mark of a circlet was placed after every ten verses (sentences), thus indicating a group of ten verses (آیت). The circlet itself came to be known, by a transference of epithet as a ده آیت.

پانژده — — *pānẓdah*, ten-fifteen. Ornament, decoration.

پنجی — — *panjī*, a false coin, bad money, impure gold or silver. *Nizāmī*¹ says (*ARaj.*) —

بامن آن شد که در سخن سنجی ده دهی زر دهد نه ده پنجی

Also see دهی.

تاس — — *tās*, ten dishes. A wooden shoe.

ترک — — *turk*, ten Turks. The eight fingers and two thumbs of the two hands. See under هشت خلد.

1. *Jah.* attributes the couplet to 'Asjadī (عسجدی), and reads it thus:

بامن آن شد که در سخن سنجی ده دهی زر نیم نه ده پنجی

ده

ختی — — *khutanī*, ten *khutanīs*. The ten fingers. *Khāqānī* :—

نای عروس از حبس ده ختی ز پیش و پس تاج نها ده بر سرش ازنی و قند عسکری

هشت خلد — — *dāyagān*, ten nurses. Same as ترك ده. Also see

دل — — *dil*, (also دله *dila*), of ten hearts. (1) Fickle, faithless. *Mawlawī-i Ma'nawī* says (*Bahār*) :—

شرح آن بگزادم و گیرم گله از جفای آن نگار ده دله

and *Sā'ib* says (*ibīd.*) :—

از دیدن طرائف اطراف بوستان وقت نظاره مردم يك دل چوده دله

(2) One who is perpetually changing his creed. (3) Brave, courageous. (4) Curses. (5) An anathema.

ده — — *dah*, ten out of ten. Pure gold.

دهی — — *dahī*, ten out of ten. Pure gold; the first degree of fineness in silver, current and standard money. *Qūsi* says (*Bahār*) :—

بر عیار من نظر کن بر حریفانم مسنج قلب ده پنچی نه سنجده کس به تقدده دهی

Also see ده پنچی.

رگه — — *raga*, of ten veins. (1) Brave, courageous, experienced. (2) Zealous, jealous. (3) A bastard, villain, thief, robber, rogue.

روز — — *rūz*, ten days. A short period of time, because ده in reality refers to دو whose numerical value according to the *Abjad* (ابجد) system of calculation comes to ten, (ده). *Ṭālib Āmulī* says (*Bahār*) :—

ده روز عیش چون نکند دل در انتظار گرسن غم به محنت صد ساله ملهم است

and *Hāfiz* :—

ده روز مهرگردون افسانه ایست و افسون نیکی بجای یاران فرصت شارب یارا

زبانی — — *zubānī*, ten-tonguedness. To be always saying different things, not to stick to one's own words. *ChirH.* quotes *Shifā'ī* :—

با نسیم خانه زاد بوستانی دوستی ای گل رعنا چوسوسن ده زبانی زود بود

سال — — *sāl*, of ten years. The seven planets (see هفت اختر).

••

عقل — — 'aql, ten [wisdoms. The ten angels. In the idiom of the philosophers عقل (wisdom) really means angel.

غلام ترک — — *ghulām-i Turk*, ten Turkish slaves. The ten fingers of the hands, when employed by a musician in playing upon a flute. Khāqānī says :—

چون شاه هندپیش و پس ده غلام ترک از فرعید گه نی و گه شکر افسرش

ماهی بلورین — — *māhi-i billūrīn*, ten bright crystalline fish. The ten fingers of a mistress.

مرد — — *marda*, (1) a company of ten men. (2) A captain over ten men. (3) A sturdy and strong person as good as ten. (4) A loquacious, talkative person.

مرده کاری کردن — — *marda kāri kardan*, to do the work of ten men. To overwork, to work too much.

مرده گفتن — — *marda guftan*, (also *dah mard*), to talk as ten men. To talk too much. Shaykh-i Shīrāz says (*Bahār*) :—

حذر کن زندان ده مرده گوی چو دانا یکی گوی و پرورده گوی

مسکن ادريس — — *maskan-i Idrīs*, the ten houses of Idrīs. Paradise.

نه — — *nuh*, ten-nine. (1) زیب — ornament, decoration, because the numerical value of the word زیب, according to the Abjad (ابجد) system of calculation, comes to nineteen. Khāqānī :—

موکب شاه اختران رفت به کاخ مشتری شش مه داده ده نهش قصر دوازده دری

(2) To inflict a loss upon some body. (3) Two things that are almost the same as regards quality and quantity.

و دو نرگسه — — *wa dū nargisa*, twelve narcissi. The twelve houses of the Zodiac. Khāqānī says :—

نعل پی اوست چرخ کز عمل دست او آن ده و دو نرگسه بر سرایوان او

هفت — — *haft*, ten-seven. An ancient coin, so called because of ten *mithqāls* it contained only seven of pure gold.

دوازده

دوازده جوسق *dawāzdah jawsaq*, the twelve mansions. The twelve Signs of the Zodiac.

دخ — — *rukḥ*, the twelve towers, i.e., the twelve heroes, Gūderz their leader among them, who were chosen by Kay *Kh̄usraw* (Kayaseres), king of Irān, to fight an equal number under Pīrān, nominated by Afrāsiyāb, King of Tūrān (Transoxiana) to decide the boundaries of those empires. A fierce battle took place in the valley of Kanābād hills, in the country of *Kh̄urāsān*. The Persians proved victorious, and Pīrān was killed. In consequence of this defeat the Turks abandoned all the country to the south of the river Oxus. These heroes are often alluded to, and are equally celebrated in Persian histories and poems. The heroes, probably twelve in all, are known by this epithet, sometimes also styled as دوازده رخ *yāzdah rukḥ*—eleven towers—each of them, so to say, was a pillar of prowess and bravery.

مقام — — *maqām*, the twelve stations. The twelve notes of music, namely, راست (*Rāst*), صفاهان (*Ṣafāhān*), also شباب (*Shabāb*) بوسلیک (*Bū Sulayk*), عشاق (*Ushshāq*), زیر بزرگ (*Zīr Buzurg*), زیر کوچک (*Zīr Kūchak*), حجاز (*Hijāz*), عراق (*Irāq*), زنگله (*Zangula*), حسینی (*Husaynī*), رهاوی (*Rahāwī*) and نوا (*Nawā*).

دوازده جوسق *q.v.* میل — — *mīl*, the twelve miles. Same as

چاردہ

چاردہ روایت *chārdah riwāyat*, the fourteen recensions. The fourteen recensions of the fourteen pupils of seven leading "Readers" (q.v. هفت قراء). Ḥāfiẓ says:—

عشقت رسد به فریادگر خودبسان حافظ قرآن زیر بخوانی با چاردہ روایت

ماه — — *māh*, fourteen moons. (1) The moon as seen on the 14th night, the fullmoon. (2) A mistress.

معصوم — — *ma'sūm*, fourteen innocent ones, namely, the Prophet Muḥammad, his daughter, and the twelve Imāms as recognised by the Shī'a Muslims.

بست و یک

بست و یک *bist-wa-yak paykar*, twenty-one bodies. (1) The starry figures of the northern hemisphere. As in Badr Chāch :—

بست و یک دان پیکر زلف ز کسوت در شال سینۀ پر نور شان گنجینۀ اسرار من

(2) The twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the nine heavens.

(2). بست و یک پیکر — — *khiltāsh*, twenty-one generals. Same as *Khāqānī* says :—

بست و یک خیل تاش سقلاش حبل وی ماه را شکست آخر

قران — — *qirān*, the twenty and one 'conjunctions,' namely, the conjunction of Saturn, of Mars with four, of the sun with three, of Venus with two planets, and that of Mercury with the moon. *Khāqānī* says :—

هر هفت رسد به برج میزان تا بست و یکش قران به بین

q.v. بیست و یک پیکر — — *giribān*, twenty and one collars. Same as

washāq, twenty and one transitory ones. Same as above. — — وشاق
q. v.

سی

سی *sī pāra*, thirty pieces. One of the thirty parts (or books), into which the whole text of the Qur'ān has been divided. *Ṣā'ib* says :—

جمع گراز بستن لب شد دل من دور نیست خامشی بسیار ازین سی پاره قرآن کرده است

ده آیت (ChirH. reads the second hemistich as سی پاره را بسیار). See

— — *sitāra-i pāk*, thirty holy stars. The thirty teeth of a man.

— — *lahn*, thirty melodies in music, composed and arranged in the following order by the celebrated Persian musician Bārbad (باربد) :
(1) آرایش جهان (*Ārāyish-i Khurshīd*), also آرایش خورشید (*Ārāyish-i Jahān*), (2) آئین جمشید (*Ā'in-i Jamshīd*), (3) اورنگی (*Aurangī*), (4) باغ شیرین (*Bāgh-i Shīrīn*), (5) تخت طاقدیسی (*Takht-i Tāqdīsī*), (6) حقه کاوس (*Huqqa-i Kā'ūs*), (7) راه دوح (*Rāh-i Rūh*), or داه دوح (*Rāh-i Rūh*)

سی

(8) سبز (Rāmish-i Jān), also دامن جهان (Rāmish-i Jahān), (9) سبزه (Sarw-i Sarwī), (10) سروستان (Sarwistān), (11) شبدیز (Shādurwān-i Marwārīd), (12) شادروان مروارید (Shabdīz), (13) فرخ شب (Shab-i Farrukh), also فرخ شب (Farrukh Shab), (14) قفل رومی (Qufl-i Rūmī), (15) گنج بادآورد (Ganj-i Bādāwurd), (16) گنج کاوس (Ganj-i Kā'ūs), or گنج گاو (Ganj-i Gāw), (17) کین سیاوش (Kīn-i Irīj), (18) کین ایرج (Kīn-i Irīj), (19) ماه برکوهان (Māh bar Kūhān), (20) مشک دانه (Mushk Dāna), (21) مشک مالی (Mushk Mālī), (22) مروای نیک (Marwā-i Nīk), (23) ناقوسی (Nāqūsī), (24) مهرگانی (Mihrgānī), or مهربانی (Mihrbānī), (25) نو دهاری (Nawbahārī), (26) نوشین باده (Nawshīn Bāda), (27) نیم روز (Nīm Rūz), and (28) نخچیرگانی (Nakhchīrgānī). Nizāmī has mentioned these in his mathnawī *Khusraw Shīrīn*, except three (روح آئین جمشید), and in their stead adds four more, namely, نو روز (Nawrūz), فرخ روز (Farrukh rūz), and غنچه کبک دری (Kaykhusrawī). Therefore, they seem to be thirty-one in number, although generally known as سی و یک; or it may be that the last is an additional one.

مهره ماه صیام — — *muhra-i māh-i Šīyām*, thirty gems of the month of 'fasting.' The thirty days of the month of Ramaḍān. *Khāqānī*:—

تا کشاده شش درسی مهره ماه صیام غلغلی زین هفت رقعۀ پاستان انگیزخته

sī wa dū jamā'at, thirty and two parties. All the religions of the world. Apparently it seems to refer to the seventy-two creeds (هفتاد و دو ملت), but why the figures were fixed to this cannot be said. Sayfī of Bukhārā (says BAj.):—

امام زاده که کارش بغیر طاعت نیست پری رخیست که درسی و دو جماعت نیست

چهل

chihal tan, forty persons. The forty persons, whom Moses is affirmed to have slain and brought to life again.

تانا — — *tanān*, forty bodies. A group of persons, known as ابدال for whose sake God is said to keep the world in existence.

چهل

ته — — *tah*, forty folds. An ample coat of mail.

چراغ — — *chirāgh*, forty lamps. An instrument of illumination consisting of a large number of lamps. Tāthīr says (ChirH.):—

نیست يك شیشه که از سوز دل صد پاره چل چراغی به سرتبت ماروشن نیست

ساله — — *sāla*, of forty years. The angels, reason and Adam.

صبح — — *ṣubḥ*, forty morns. The forty days during which the nature of Adam was fermented.

قد — — *qadd*, for forty statures. A sort of manner.

قدمی — — *qadamī*, pacing 'forties.' (1) A walk. (2) A custom at the funeral of Muslims of stepping back forty paces from the grave and again advancing towards it before reading the service over.

پنجاه

پنجاهه *pinjāha*, of fifty (days). (1) A prayer used daily during Lent. (2) The Christian Lent. Khāqānī says (Jah.):—

پس از چندین چله در عهد سی سال روم پنجاهه گیرم آشکارا

هفتاد

هفتاد *haftād*, seventy. Very many, innumerable. Nizāmī (Bahār):—

بنه بست زین کوه هفتاد راه به هفتم فلک بر زده بارگاه

bi *haftād āb shustan*, to wash with seventy waters. To overwash. Nizāmī says (AsLugh.):—

بشویا نیم گریه هفتاد آب ز آبش دهد شعله اجتناب

Also Bābā Fughānī (AsLugh.):—

از داغ های لاله بر افراخت صد علم پشمینه ام که عشق به هفتاد آب شست

کشتی — — *kushtī*, seventy fights. The 'seventy kinds of diseases incident to loving creatures.

— — *wa and millat*, [seventy and a few] creeds. Better and more often used as هفتاد و دو ملت q. v.

هفتاد

و دو شاخ — — *wa dū shākh*, seventy and two branches. (1) A phrase used to signify the seventy tribes and different forms of religion upon earth. (2) Seventy-two modes of chanting the Qur'ān.

و دو کشتی — — *wa dū kashtī*, [seventy and two belts. Seventy-two creeds.

و دو ملت — — *wa dū millat*, seventy and two creeds. (Sometimes هفتاد و اند ملت also). All the creeds come to seventy-three, one of them being the *Sunnat Jamā'at*; but while speaking of it as هفتاد و اند we exclude the above-named from the list, and take notice of the seventy-two only. These seventy-two really form six groups of twelve each, namely, دافضیه (*Rāfidiyya*), خارجیہ (*Khārijīyya*), جبریہ (*Jabriyya*), قدریہ (*Qadariyya*), جهمیہ (*Jahmiyya*) and مرجیہ (*Marjiyya*). Naẓīrī says (ARaj.):—

آن کس که دین ندارد و گوید که عارقم تکفیر او به ملت هفتاد و اند کن!

Khāqānī has mentioned it as هفتاد و سه فرقه (seventy-three sects) also, as in:—

خلق هفتاد و سه فرقه کرده هفتاد و دو حج انسی و جنی و شیطانی مسلمان دیده اند

— — *wa haft*, seventy-seven. Very many, numerous.

به هفتاد و هفت آب شستن *bi haftād wa haft āb shustan*, to wash with seventy and seven waters. To overwash. Nizāmī says (Bahār):—

چو همخوان خضری برین حرف جوی به هفتاد و هفت آب لب رابشوی

صد

صد انگشت نهادن *ṣad angusht nihādan*, to place a hundred fingers. (1) To find a hundred faults. (2) To commit a hundred faults.

برگ — — *barg*, of hundred petals. A kind of [narcissus, also called هفت رنگ. See هفت زرد.

پایه — — *pāya*, of a hundred feet. (1) A shipworm, a centipede, long, hairy and of different colours. (2) A species of hairy catapillar or canker.

صد

پیوند — — *paywand*, of a hundred tendons. (1) A shepherd's staff or garment. (2) A herb.

تو — — *tū*, a hundred folds. That part of the tripe or stomach so called.

چراغ — — *chirāgh*, a hundred lamps. (1) A tree, rooted out, on whose off-shoots they hang a lamp and thus illuminate the place. *Tughrā* says (Bahār):—

کدو گر شود مجلس افروز باغ بود پیش مستان به از صد چراغ

(2) Many, innumerable lamps. *Nizāmī* says (Bahār):—

گل سرخ چون کله بند د بیاغ فروزد ز هر چشمه صد چراغ

دهن — — *dahan*, a hundred mouths. (1) A hundred kinds of sounds. *Sālik* of Qazwīn says (Chir.H.):—

مراهم اگر بودی آن برگ و ساز یکی قدردان شاه شاعر نواز
چو بلبل برو صد دهن خواندمی برو سرو بالا گل افشاندمی

(2) One who says one thing and then another.

— — *bi šad rang shudan*, to become a hundred colours. To change colours on account of shame and ignominy. *Sālik Yazdī* says (BAj.):—

تنها نه شد از لعل تو عتاب به صد رنگ در جام و سبوغشت می تاب به صد رنگ

— — *shākh kardan*, to split into a hundred branches. To break into a hundred pieces.

— — *wa chahārdah*, a hundred and fourteen. The hundred and fourteen *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān.

— — *wa chahārdah 'iqd*, a hundred and fourteen necklaces. Same as *q. v.* و چهارده عقد.

dū šad, two hundred. Innumerable. *Šā'ib* (Bahār):—

هر که باخود دو گواه از رنگ کردن دارد می برد پیش دو صد دعوی بی معنی را
یک دله Also see

هزار

صد سی *sī šad*, three hundred. Innumerable.

صدی ذات *šadī dhāt*, a personnel of a hundred. A *manṣab* (rank). One of this rank received two lacs of *dāms* (five thousand rupees).

پان صد ذات *pān-šad dhāt*, a personnel of five hundred. A rank whose occupant received eight lacs of *dāms* (twenty thousand rupees).

هزار

هزار *hazār*, a thousand. (1) A bird called the thousand voices (هزارآواز), having an uncommon variety of melodious modes ; a species of nightingale. Ḥāfiẓ says :—

صد هزاران گل شگفت و بانگ مرغی برنخاست عندلیبان راچه پیش آمد هزاران راچه شد
and 'Alī of *Khurāsān* says (*Bahār*) :—

با آن که بود مرغ دلم بلبل ضعیف هر جا که می نشست نوای هزار داشت
(2) Innumerable, very many. Naẓīrī says (*ARaj.*) :—

به فتوه خرد پارسا طلاق دهم اگر هزار به بخشند مهر دختر تاک

(3) A term employed in the game of *nard*.

آستین — — *āstīn*, a thousand sleeves. The sea—its waves being compared to the sleeves.

اسفند — — *asfand*, a thousand rue plants. The wild rue.

آواز — — *āwāz* (also آوا *āwā*), of a thousand notes. A nightingale.

بز — — *buzz*, a thousand goats. A fortress in *Khurāsān*.

یشه — — *bīsha* (also پیشه *pīsha*), a thousand-folded. A large cup ; anything which contains many others inside it, such as a knife which has in its handle scissors, pen and such like. A vessel in which one can put other pots and take them out at the time of need. Salīm says (*ChirH.*) :—

کمی کل است و گهی آفتاب و گاهی آه هزار یشه بود جام می به مجلس شاه
and 'Abdu'l Razzāq Fayyāḍ says (*Bahār*) :—

از يك نكبت زدست ردم چشم تو هزار یشه ماست

هزار

پا — — *pā*, a millipede. The scolopendra, a palmer-worm of a dangerous species. Kamāl Ismā'il says (ibid.):—

ترسم که چوں دراز شد این شعر هیچ کس در گوش خود رهش نه دهد چوں هزار پای
and Ashraf says (ibid.):—

طول امل که کرده به مغز استوار پای مارت نیست پای مکش از هزار پای

پسر — — *pisar*, a thousand sons. A medicinal grass.

پیرهن گوشت گرفتن — — *pīrahan gūsh̄t giriftan*, to take the flesh of a thousand bodies. To grow very fat. Mullā Shānī Takallū says (ARaj.):—

دوش هزار پیرهن گوشت گرفته ام که گفت پاره استخوان شده شانی درد مند ما

تابه — — *tāba*, of a thousand beams. The sun. Sayf Asfirangī says (Jah.):—

تا می تابد هزار تابه از گنبد این کنانه طارم

تو — — *tū* (and *tūy*, also *khāna*), a thousand divisions ; a thousand folds. The second stomach of beasts. Salīm reviles a glutton (Bahār):—

پی کیا چو او روانه شود آفت صد هزار خانه شود

جریب — — *jarīb*, a thousand chains. A garden, built by Shāh 'Abbās Mādī, covering an area of a thousand *jarībs*, in Iṣfahān ; very cool and beautiful. Muḥsin Tāthīr says (Bahār):—

چه حاجتست به گلگشت باغ اسیران را قفس هزار جریب است عندلیبان را

¹جشان — — *jashān*, a thousand yards. A creeper, like a vine, but thorny. It creeps along the trees nearby. Its fruit is red, as big as a vetch, called *ماردارو* (an antidote to snake-bite). Its fruit is called *عنب الحیه* 'Inabu'l Ḥayya (the grape of the serpent), and its root is known as *عود الحیه* 'Ūdu'l Ḥayya (the aloe of the serpent). In Shīrāzī it is called *Nakhūshī*.

1. Lexicographers give various readings of the epithet. They are (I) هزار کشان (ARaj.); (II) هزار جشان (BQ.); (III) هزار چشان (BQ., Bahār, ARaj., Rich., John.); (IV) هزار جان (MF.); (V) هزار خشان (BQ., Rgh., Jah., Kaghf., ARaj., Rich., John.); and (VI) هزار افشان (almost all these and BAj.). It is interpreted by all these writers in different ways.

هزار

چشمه — — *chashma*, a thousand streams. A cancer, a mortal disease.

خانه — — *khāna*, a thousand houses. Same as هزار تو q. v.

خوابه — — *khwāba*, of a thousand slumbers. Very sleepy eyes. *Khusrāw* (*Bahār*):—

بعد از هزار شب هم اکنون شبی نخسپد این دیده که شبا بودی هزار خوابه

داستان — — *dāstān*, (also *dastān*) of a thousand tales. The nightingale of *Khurāsān*, which is similar to the dove in colour. *Kamāl Ismā'il* says (*Rsh.*):—

ازان همین نه زند سرو دست اندر باغ هزار داستان بر گل همی زند داستان

دانه — — *dāna*, a thousand grains. (1) The thousand leaf (flower). (2) A rosary of a thousand beads, for saying prayer, in counting which they repeat the praises, names or attributes of God. *Tāthir* says (*ChirH.*):—

در چشم اهل بینش کم نیست شور عاشق یک دانه اشک بلبل باشد هزار دانه

and *Salmān* says (*ARaj.*):—

نه چرخ هزار دانه گردان در حلقه ذکر خاقتاقت

رنگ برآمدن — — *rang bar āmadan*, to bring forth a thousand colours. To decorate oneself in many ways. *Salīm* (*Bahār*):—

هزار رنگ برآمد به پیش روی تو گل ولی نه شد که تواند نمود رنگ ترا

سرداشتن — — *sar dāshtan*, to have a thousand heads. To have a thousand desires. *Qubūl* says (*ARaj.*):—

ترابه غیر هوای تو هیچ در سرنیست به غیر گر نگری او هزار سردارد

ستون — — *sutūn*, a thousand pillars, or columns. (1) A celebrated place in Persepolis. (2) A building founded by 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd Muḥammad Tughlaq. *Badr Chāch* says:—

نه سقف بی ستون که به شش روز شد تمام در گوشه هزار ستون تو مضمهر است

سفند — — *sifand*, same as هزار اسفند q. v.

هزار

میخ — — *mīkh* (also میخی *mīkhī*), (of) a thousand nails. (1) A *darwīsh's* habit closely stitched. Salmān says (Bahār) :—

دوتوی فقر جامه ایست کز عظمت هزار میخی افلاکس آستر یابی

Khusraw says (ibid.) :—

چو گشت نغمه مرغان صبح گاه بلند هزار میخی شب بر خود آسان بدید

(2) The starry firmament. (3) A common strumpet.

نقش بر آوردن — — *naqsh bar āwurdan*, to bring forth a thousand impressions. To produce a thousand accidents and determinations.

هزاری *hazārī*, of a thousand. (1) The command of a thousand retainers. (2) One who performs a thousand 'sittings' in physical exercise. Najāt says (ibid.) :—

ای که در هند جفا تیغ تو کاری باشد منصب تخته شلاک تو هزاری باشد

یک هزاری *yak hazārī*, (1) a man who receives a thousand rupees per month salary. (2) A commander of gunmen.

پنج هزاری *panj hazārī*, of a five thousand. A very 'high rank in the army. One in command of five thousand men.

هفت هزاری *haft hazārī*, of seven thousand. A rank in the army—one in command of seven thousand soldiers.

ده هزار *dah hazār* (also ده هزاران *dah hazārān*), ten thousand. (2) The fourth of seven games of chess, also named خانه گیر (*Khāna-gīr*). These seven games are : فارد (*Fārd*, or *Fārid*), زیاد (*Ziyād*), ستاره (*Sitārah*), خانه گیر (*Khāna-gīr*), طویل (*Ṭawīl*), هزاران (*Hazārān*) and منصوبه (*Manṣūbah*).

صد هزار بیدق *ṣad hazār baydaq* (also بیدق *baydhaq*), a hundred thousand pawns. The stars.

AMINUDDIN KHAN.

(Concluded).

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

AFGHANISTAN

Faculty of Law and Political Science.

THE Faculty of Law and Political Science, recently founded by order of King Zāhir Shāh, has already to its credit the following publications, original compilations or translated from different languages such as Turkish, German, French, etc. :—

1.	دروس فقه	by	نصرت الله خان	translated by	—
2.	تاریخ فلسفه	„	امیل فاکه	„	قدیرخان تره کی
3.	دروس ایستاتستیک	„	جلال آیبار و ثابت ایگون	„	حبیب الله خان
4.	اجتماعیات	„	ماکس یونافوس و نجم الدین صادق	„	احمد علی شاه خان
5.	جرمیات	„	شا کرطورال	„	—
6.	حقوق اساسی بلژیک	„	هانری و انمول	„	میر محمد صدیق خان
7.	دروس معلومات عسکری	„	بای حلمی اربوغ	„	—
8.	دروس اقتصاد سیاسی	„	عبدالهی خان عزیز	„	—
9.	اقتصاد اجتماعی	„	—	„	غلام صفدرخان
10.	تقلیات و تعرفه ها	„	احسان علی	„	امام الدین خان
11.	حقوق مدافعہ ملی	„	رفعت تاشکن	„	غلام حسن خان
12.	اداره و ایستاتستیک	„	گیشار	„	محمد ناصر خان
13.	نمایندگان سیاسی	„	پل فون تیل	„	عبدالرحمن خان
14.	کتاب سجل نفوس	„	لوسوار	„	محمد ناصر خان

A Turkish professor, Bay Muḥammad 'Alī Fu'ād is appointed Principal of the Faculty.

Progress of Pashtau.

The journal, *Kābul*, organ of the Afghān Academy, although much reduced in bulk, owing to war, is appearing regularly. Its famous annual

number has now appeared for the eighth time with all its former features and readable matter on a variety of subjects, *Afghān* and general.

Articles in the Pashtau language are increasing in the monthly issues of the *Kābul*, and we now discern a tendency to Pashtawise the orthography of Pashtau proper names, even in articles written in Persian, for instance, *پښاور* instead of the former *پشاور*, the sound resembling rather German *ch* than English *sh*.

They have also evolved a movable type for the Pashtau alphabet which has many peculiarities of its own, and it is interesting to note how the same sounds have been represented in different ways in Pashtau and the Urdu orthography.

Journalism.

The Persian daily *Iṣlāḥ* has now completed its 11th year, the Pashtau *Ṭulū'-e-Afghān* its 17th and the magazine *Iqtisād* its 10th year of useful existence. An appreciation of a Kabul poet, Mahjūr, has appeared in the *Kābul* of June 1940.

Dr. Muḥammad Nāẓim, of the Indian Archæological Department, published some time ago his thesis on the life and time of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznah. The Persian translation of this, published by instalments in the *Kābul*, has now been completed and reissued in book form under the title *حيات و اوقات سلطان محمود غزنوی*.

EGYPT

Young Muslims.

THE *Shubbān'ul-Muslimīn* (Young Men's Muslim Association), first founded in Egypt and now, having branches all over the Muslim world, including India, has suffered the loss of its founder and President of the Egyptian headquarters. A former Minister of War in the Egyptian Government has succeeded to the post.

Arabic Script as decorative Art in Europe.

It is a commonplace that the Arabic script, especially its Cufic mode, has been used from very early days as artistic decoration. (And according to some, even the word *Cubic*¹ and its derivations are but a corruption of *Cufic*). This is true not only of the Islamic world but even of Europe. The influence of Arabic art was so great that even European artists copied some patterns of Arabic script without knowing what they meant. One

1. The English word *Cube* is generally traced to the classical Greek *Kubos*.

comes across such patterns on vases, plates, swords and buildings. A recent Indian tourist has written that he read in the Vatican in quite legible writing the formula لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله .

The subject is enchanting, but very little has so far been written on it. Reference to it has been made by a young artist, S. Reich, in a paper read in the Institut d'Égypte under the heading *Une Inscription Mamlouke sur un Dessin Italien du 15e siècle*, (published in the "*Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*," Vol. xxii, 1939-40, pp. 123-131, with four plates). Therein he observes: No study has so far been made of the entire realm of inscriptions in Arabic characters on monuments of the Occident. One may, however, refer to the following:—

G. Soulier, *Les caractères coufiques dans la peinture toscane*, in : *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1924, I, pp. 347-58 ;

A. de Longperier, *De L'emploi des caractères arabes dans l'ornementation chez les peuples chrétiens de l'Occident*, in : *Revue archéologique*, 1846, Vol. II, pp. 406-411 ;

L. Coudarjod, *Notes sur les inscriptions arabes ou pseudo-arabes*, in : *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquités de France*, 1876.

A. Fikri, *L'art roman du Puy et les influences islamique*, Paris, 1934, ch. xii "Le décor coufique," pp. 255-67 ;

G. Marçais, on the reading of the inscriptions of Puy, cf. his communication in the *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1938, pp. 53-62 ;

H. Lavoix, *De l'ornementation arabe dans les œuvres des maîtres italiens*, in : *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1887, pp. 17-29 ;

J. von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel im xv-xvi Jahrhundert*, in : *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften*, in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, *Denkschrift*, Vol. 62, Abh. 1, pl. vi.

In the article to which we have referred, the author, S. Reich, has found that on an Italian incomplete painting in which there are certain figures such as a horseman, a door, two people talking to each other and the like, and in which there are instructions as to the colours for painting different parts of these figures, there is also a line in Arabic characters

عزولانا السلطان الملك المويدا * بوالنصر شيخ نصره (i.e., Glory be to our master the Sultān Al-Malik al-Mu'aiyad Bu'n-Naṣr Shaiḥ whose victory be glorified). The Italian must have copied some Egyptian pattern on which the above inscription relating to the famous Mamlūk Sultān was made, and the Italian artist unwittingly reproduced this inscription as a decoration of his own painting !

Muslim Schools in Abyssinia.

The *at-Tamaddun al-Islāmī* of Damascus reports in its latest issue that in Maqādishū, southern Abyssinia, a Muslim School, under the name

and Sri Krishnaji's Janam Ashtami are regularly celebrated every year. It was suggested in a random amendment at the Aundh Conference, to substitute the words " birthday ceremonies of its founder " by the more comprehensive " religious festivals " in general, but it was clear how great are the difficulties which lie therein. In Dipavali, for instances, the goddess of wealth is worshipped, and to invite Muslims to such festivals would be repugnant to their sense of pure monotheism. The amendment was withdrawn.

Another Lead.

The Osmania students have taken another lead. This year a Professor Subba Rao Prize has been announced for an essay competition on " Why should we study the life of the Prophet Muḥammad " —reserved exclusively for non-Muslim students of the Osmania University. Probably in Janam Ashtami celebration similar inducements will be provided for Muslim students to acquaint themselves with the life and work of Sri Krishnaji. We congratulate Prof. Subba Rao and the Osmania students on this patriotic lead of theirs of an all-India importance !

We join the *Deccan Times* in its last sentence.

Baitul-Māl in Nizāmābād.

In the first week of Ramazān (October) last, the fourth annual Conference of the Nizāmābād Baitul-Māl was held at Nizāmābād under the presidency of His Holiness Saiyid Muḥammad Bādshah Qādrī of Hyderabad. The idea of a Baitul-Māl (Muslim Public Treasury) for Hyderabad was first scientifically dealt with, some years ago, by Dr. Saiyid 'Abdul-Laṭīf in a memorandum which he submitted to the Government urging the establishment of a department for not only collecting and disbursing *zakāt*, but also for receiving the properties of Muslims dying without heirs and intestate in the Nizam's Dominions, in accordance with the personal law of the Muslims. The bill provided for a retrospective effect regarding the *jagirs* (fiefs) of the Muslims made to lapse for the benefit of the general exchequer on the ground of lack of male issue, etc.

Nizāmābād is a small town which has now acquired great prominence on account of the *Nizam Sagar* and the newly erected sugar factory. This town has taken a lead by organizing, by private enterprise, a provincial Baitul-Māl, four years ago. In his address the President observed that the Qur'ān explicitly ruled out usurious transactions and at the same time provided for an institution to lend money without interest. In fact it is useless to forbid giving or taking money without making provision for meeting the requirements of those who need to borrow money. Hence in order to meet the needs of those who are forced, sometime or other, to

incur debt for emergency expenses, the Qur'ān provided that the State Income should in part be allotted for lending money without interest. The President quoted the verses, and further elucidated them from the orthodox practice of the time of the Caliphs Abu-Bakr and 'Umar. Pious Muslims may not take interest, yet even they are forced to pay interest, since there is no Baitul-Māl at present to relieve them of the necessity of falling into the hands of Shylocks. Modern economy is based on interest, and moral considerations have no value in the present materialistic world. The absence of a Baitul-Māl is perhaps the greatest factor responsible for the deterioration of the economic conditions of Muslims to-day. Paying tribute to the people of Nizāmābād, the President said that our multifarious requirements cannot be fully satisfied without a state-organised All-Hyderabad Baitul-Māl Department, the establishment of which would bring untold benefits to the Muslims of the country through exclusively their own resources. (*Deccan Times*, 20-10-1940).

H.E.H. the Nizam's Government budgeted two hundred thousand rupees last year for loans without interest, responding to the cry in the country.

War Studies in the Osmania University.

The Senate of the Osmania University has adopted a resolution to open a department of war studies with active collaboration of the faculties of science, engineering, medicine, etc. In furtherance of a resolution of the last year, the Government has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 50,000 to extend facilities for training pilots and popularising aviation.

LL.D. and D. Litt. for Prince of Berar.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Berar, Heir-Apparent to the throne of Hyderabad, has been the recipient *honoris causa* of first an LL.D. from the Osmania University and then a D. Litt. from the University of Aligarh. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar are also the patrons of the *Hyderabad Academy*.

Yūnānī Medical College.

A year has passed since the opening of the Nizāmīyah Kulliyah Ṭibbiyah, and the occasion was observed in Hyderabad in the form of a medical conference with four sessions where learned lectures were arranged on medicine and public hygiene.

Reform of Hindustānī Script.

Principal Sajjād Mirzā of the Osmania Training College has published a study on the above subject. He has traced the history of the Arabic alphabet and more particularly its printing. The present movable type is technically defective since it consists of fraction type, and he has evolved a new full-body type which though not so beautiful as the ordinary Arabic script, yet from the point of view of printing technique far surpasses any yet proposed. The Bombay Government has already adopted it for its basic Urdu series.

Compilation of Ḥadīth.

Here is the outline of a very long article by Principal Manāzīr Aḥsan of the faculty of theology, Osmania University, appearing in the Journal of the Osmania University, Vol. VII, to which we referred in our last issue :—

For long it was believed by modern scholars, that the first attempts to compile Ḥadīth in written form from the mass of oral traditions were made two hundred years after the Prophet. In this article, the author has studied the question from the point of view of internal evidence.

First he emphasises the fact that Ḥadīth constitutes in fact the history of one of the epoch-making periods of human history. Again its bearings on the world were not merely political but social, economic and spiritual as well, since it concerns the life of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam, whose followers number hundreds of millions in all parts of the world.

As regards histories of other peoples and other epochs, the ultimate sources of information are generally constituted by street gossip, stories, oral traditions, compiled from hearsay evidence and the like. Rarely are they based on the authority of eye-witnesses. Even in what little there is of this kind, no data are available as to the character, trustworthiness, memory or intelligence of the first transmitters. But the history of the life and time of the Prophet has been fortunate in more than one respect.

Firstly, the first informants of Ḥadīth were all eye-witnesses and participators in the acts narrated.

Secondly, Ḥadīth is a concentrated and compact history : not of one people or one country or one epoch but of one and only one person. Such vast data revolving round one sole object are unparalleled.

Thirdly, the first recorders of Ḥadīth were devoted to their subjects and not liable to distort facts. Further, they were imbued with the strictest scruples regarding accuracy and abstention from exaggeration. This has been copiously illustrated by the learned writer...

Again, not only is Ḥadīth the life and work of one sole person, but also eye-witnesses of the facts recorded exceed one hundred thousand. And the accumulated wealth from all these witnesses, regarding public life, private and even conjugal life, in fact every act of the Prophet, is a unique case in world history.

Apart from the circumstances which provided for the preservation of correct data of the life of the Prophet, two more facts are not to be neglected. Firstly, the fact that the Companions tried their best to become examples of the teaching of their Master, and secondly they paid special attention to writing down the facts regarding the life of their Master and Prophet. As to this last point, the author has proved conclusively and at length, with a wealth of data, that at least ten thousand traditions were put in writing by the very Companions of the Prophet.

The story of the generations of the transmitters of Ḥadīth after the Companions will be dealt with in a future article by the learned writer.

Golden Jubilee of the Āṣafīyah Library.

The State Library, in Hyderabad, completes in February next its 50 years of existence. A grand exhibition is announced for the occasion together with an essay competition on "the Libraries in the Deccan."

M. H.

Mr. P. R. Gode has contributed a learned article on the *Dates* of Udayaraja and Jagaddhara in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Part II, 40. The MS. of Rajavinodah, dealing with the life of Sultān Maḥmūd Bēgdah of Ahmadabad, Gujarat, contains 28 folios and each page has eight lines. This most important MS. in the Sanskrit language, dealing with a Muslim king is very important from many points of view. It opens with the genealogy of Gujarat Muslim kings. Udayaraja appears to have been a Court-Poet of Maḥmūd Bēgdah. This MS. was most probably composed between 1458 and 1511 which cover the entire period of 53 years of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Bēgdah. There are certain references in this MS. especially to the wars between Malwa, Gujarat and Rana Kumbha. Mr. Gode has also compared the purport of the MS. with that of the Sanskrit Inscription from Dohad already published by Dr. Sanklia in *Epigraphia Indica*, 1938. This MS. is preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. Khān Bahādur M. S. Commissariat has published a collection of Mughal Firmans in Gujarat, particularly issued in favour of Shantidas Jawahari of Ahmadabad by the Mughal Emperors. This learned article appears in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Part I, 40. There are twenty-five neat illustrations of these

Firmans. Prof. Commissariat says, "Of the twenty-one Firmans presented, two were granted by the Emperor Jahangir ; twelve more by Shāh Jahān or his sons, Dāra Shikoh, Aurangzēb and Murād Bakhsh, on behalf of their father ; two by Murād Bakhsh as Emperor or Bādshāh Ghāzī ; and five by Aurangzēb after his accession. Shantidas himself died probably during the first or second year of the reign of Aurangzēb and the series of documents, bearing his name, came to a close in 1659 or 1660."

NORTH INDIA

Hindi Translation of the Holy Qur'ān.

SHEIKH Muḥammad Yūsuf, editor of *Nūr*, Qāadian, has prepared and published a translation of the Holy Qur'ān in Hindī. Formerly he brought out a Gurmakhi translation of the Holy Book, which elicited high praise from Gurmakhi scholars and Sikh rulers of Indian States. Recently his Hindi translation has also been welcomed by both scholars and some of the rulers of the Indian states. It has helped many non-Muslims to acquaint themselves with the teachings of Islam.

The Spirit of Islamic Culture.

Kh. Abdul Waheed of Lahore has recently published a brochure dealing with the Spirit of Islamic Culture. He has tried to discuss tersely almost all necessary aspects of the subject. He concludes that Islam is not a religion in the ordinary sense of the word. It is much more than a religion in the sense in which one can speak of Christianity or Hinduism. It 'combines within itself the grandest and the most prominent features in all ethic and catholic religions compatible with the reason and moral intuition of man. It is not merely a system of positive moral rules, based on a true conception of human progress. But it is also the establishment of certain principles, the enforcement of certain dispositions, the cultivation of a certain temper of mind, which the conscience is to apply to the ever-varying exigencies of time and place. Islam is not a creed only ; it is a life to be lived in the present. It is a religion of right doing, right thinking, and right speaking, founded on Divine Law, universal charity and the equality of man in the light of the Lord.'

The Oriental College Magazine, Lahore.

Prof. Dr. M. Iqbal discusses the *Naurūz* as a great festival of the Iranians. No other community ever observed it with greater fervour than the Iranians

have celebrated their *Naurūz* from very ancient days. Firdousī has mentioned it in his *Shāhnāma*. Dr. Iqbāl takes the view that whole significance of *Nāurūz* lies in pleasure at the advent of Spring. But apart from this the Iranians used to celebrate it as a religious festival even from the days of the Sasanian kings of ancient Iran.

Āgha Abdus Sattār has continued his series of articles on the literary activities during the period of Sultan *Shams ud Dīn Iltutmish*. In this instalment he discusses the poet *Rūḥānī*, tracing this unknown poet's life and works from various sources.

Mr. Sayyad Mukhtār Aḥmad's note on the *Languages of Irān* in the Urdu quarterly, *Urdu* of Delhi is very instructive specially as to the ancient languages, based on the study of *Awista* and other ancient sources on Irān.

The Burhān, Delhi.

Moulvi Say'īd Aḥmad has written an authoritative article on the *Divine Revelation*. In reality this article is based on the verse of the Qur'ān that *It is naught save an inspiration that is inspired* (Sūrah, LIII, 4). Hidāyat ur Raḥmān has contributed a long article on the *Relations of the Mughals with Gujarat*. The Deoband Madrasa of Theology contains a large collection of MSS., mostly of religious books, which has been lying in abeyance for many years and recently has received attention. Sayyād Maḥbūb has begun to catalogue it. The October issue of *Burhān* contains the second instalment.

M. A. C.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

افتتاح الاندلس, by Jamīl'ur-Rahmān of the Osmania University, pp. 164, price Rs. 1-8 : publishers, Kitābistān, Allahabad.

THIS small booklet is a Hindustani translation of a work of the same name by Ibn-Qūṭīyah, on the Muslim conquest of Spain. The main translation runs only between pages 46 and 84. The rest of the book is occupied by a learned introduction in about 50 pages and by an appendix on noteworthy passages and proper names, etc., from the pen of the translator.

It is nicely printed in movable type, but has a few misprints, for instance, on page 163 :

وفيات	for	وفيات الاعيان
المسالك والممالك	..	كتاب المالك و المالك
خلدون	..	ابن الخلدون

The interest of Muslim Indians in their lost heritage in the Iberian Peninsula has been on the increase of late, and in recent years many books, original compilations as well as translations, have appeared on the subject. Nawāb Zul-qadr Jung's monograph, *Khalil ur-Rahmān's translation of Scott's Moorish Empire*, 'Ināyatullāh's *Geography*, and only recently the translation of Dozy's classical work, testify to this interest.

We have sought in vain, even in the volume under review, for a criticism of and an investigation into the allegation as to a conquest of part of Spain in as early as the year 27 H.

In his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Gibbon has made a passing remark

to it (cf. Vol. V, 555, Oxford University Press Ed.). Greater details are given first by Ṭabariy, *Annales*, I, 2816-17, and followed by Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, III, 72, Abul-Fidā', I, 262, Ḍahlān, *Futūhāt*, I, 100, and Ḍhahabiy, *Ta'rikh Kabīr*, anno 27 H.

As nobody seems to have taken notice of it so far, and as this goes against the popular notion that it was Ṭāriq who first set foot on Spanish soil, I propose to translate the passage of Ṭabariy for the benefit of our readers :

Anno 27 H./647. At the time of the death of 'Umar, the governor of Egypt was 'Amr-ibn-al-'Ās, and Khārijah was the Chief Justice of the empire. When 'Uthmān succeeded, he retained them both for the first two years of his reign and then he appointed 'Abdallāh-ibn-Sa'd-ibn-Abi-Sarḥ in place of 'Amr-ibn-al-'Ās. . . . And 'Uthmān never deposed anybody except on complaint or on resignation. 'Abdallāh-ibn-Sa'd belonged to the army corps in Egypt. So he ordered him to proceed to North-West Africa and sent with him 'Abdallāh-ibn-Nāfi'-ibn-'Abdal-Qais and 'Abdallāh-ibn-Nāfi'-ibn-al-Husain. The Caliph promised the governor a fifth part of the booty received as the government share. He put the two 'Abdallāhs at the head of the army and sent them to Andalus. The Caliph also ordered the governor and the two 'Abdallāhs to meet at Ajall whence the governor should return to his headquarters and the two generals to proceed to their destinations. Accordingly they set out and crossed the territory of Egypt and penetrated deep

into North-West Africa until they reached Ajall... Immediately afterwards 'Uthmān sent the two 'Abdallāhs from North-West Africa to Andalus. They reached there by way of sea. And the Caliph 'Uthmān addressed a message to the Andalusians who had promised help, adding that Constantinople would be conquered *via* Andalus, and that, if they conquered it, they would share in the credit of the conquest of the latter too; this with salutations on the part of the Caliph. (And Ka'b al-Aḥbār relates this tradition: A people would cross the sea to get to Andalus and would conquer it and they would be conspicuous on the Resurrection Day for the light enfolding them). The narrator continues: The Muslim army proceeded, and they had with them a contingent of Berbers also. And they came to the land and sea of Andalus, and God vouchsafed them the conquest of the country, as well as the conquest of Ifranjah (Frankish country) and they were added to the Muslim Empire just like North-West Africa. When 'Uthmān called off the governor of Egypt, ('Abdallāh-ibn-Sa'd), he appointed instead 'Abdallāh-ibn-Nāfi'-ibn-'Abd-Qais, who remained there when 'Abdallāh-ibn-Sa'd-ibn-Abī-Sarḥ returned to Egypt. And the situation of Andalus remained the same as that of North-West Africa until the time of the Umayyad Caliph, Hishām, when Berbers revolted; yet Andalus remained calm.

We wish, that Prof. Jamil ur-Rahmān had discussed this matter.

آزاد حیدر آباد, edited by *Mirzā Muẓaffar Bēg of Maktaba Ibrahīmīyah, Hyderabad-Deccan*, pp. 180, price As. 12 only, octavo.

THIS work consists of twenty articles by different writers published during the last seventeen years and dispersed in various journals and reviews. There are two maps illustrating Hyderabad under Āṣaf Jāh I, and Āṣafjāhī territories

under British trust and administration, consisting of Berar, Northern Sarkars, Mufauwaza Districts, Karnātik, etc.

The book begins with the classical address of the Nizām which he pronounced in the grand durbar, seventeen years ago, to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the declaration of independence of Hyderabad.

Then follow learned articles on such subjects as :

1. The life and work of the present Nizām.
2. The Round Table Conference and Hyderabad.
3. The Status of Hyderabad in the light of treaties.
4. Analysis of sovereignty and its application to Hyderabad.
5. Is Hyderabad an Islamic State ?
6. Hyderabad and foreign relations.
7. " His Majesty " for the Nizām.
8. Need to abolish capitulations in Hyderabad.
9. British Post Offices in the Nizām's Dominions.
10. The Administrations of British India and Hyderabad, compared by William Digby.
11. Hyderabad's Faithful Alliance *versus* ?
12. The extent of the Nizām's Dominions, etc.

The book ends with the memorandum submitted by the Ittihadul-Muslimin to the Nizām's Government for future State-policy *vis-à-vis* the British.

Most of the articles are learned pieces of research based on official documents, couched in simple and dignified language.

The book is essential for those who want to understand the spirit animating modern Hyderabad.

P.S.

We learn that the first large edition was completely exhausted within only two months, and hundreds of orders are booked for the second revised and enlarged edition, in press at the time of writing these lines.

مدینه کانفرنس , *Hindustānī translation of منتخب مختار الكونین* , compiled by Abu'l-Fath (Abu-Fattāh) 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Baghdādīy, published by 'Abdar Raḥīm and 'Abdar Raḥmān, Booksellers, Kutub-khānah Islāmīyah, Masjid Chiniyanwālī, Lahore, published in 1914.

THIS is an extremely interesting and important work. The fact is, there was an Arabic MS. in the library of Khwājah Ghulām Farid, in Chācharān Sharīf, in Bahawalpur, under the name *Muntakhab Mukhtār al-Kawnain*. On careful examination, it proved to be the proceedings of a Muslim Conference, held in Medina in 973 H./1556, attended by 73 Muslim Ulema from all parts of the Muslim world, apart from the local savants of Medina who also attended the Conference. Unfortunately the Chācharān MS. is only an abridged copy (*muntakhab*), and so far no trace of the whole has been found in any other library of the world, not even in Medina itself. The object of the Conference was to find out the reasons for the decline of Muslim power and to propose remedies therefor.

The original work was planned under the following order :

1. To consist of seven parts (each called a *kawkab*=planet).
2. Each planet (or part) to consist of twelve constellations (*burj*).
3. Each constellation to consist of 30 stages (*manzils*).
4. Each stage to consist of an indetermined number of *najms*=celestial bodies.

The present consists of only the first planet, and the remaining six parts have not been taken notice of in this abridgment. And of the first planet, instead of all the twelve constellations, the first, second, third, tenth, and twelfth alone are given.

Out of the first constellation, 5 *manzils*

"	2nd	"	12	"
"	3rd	"	5	"
"	10th	"	2	"
"	12th	"	2	"

are given and the rest are wanting.

The author of the abridgment men-

tions that the seven planets (or parts) of the book dealt with the following subjects :

1. Politics.
2. Economics and means of livelihood.
3. Contractual relations, (such as trade, commerce, sale, agriculture, etc.).
4. Dogmas.
5. Religious rituals.
6. Eschatology and things of the Hereafter.

7. From the creation of the world to Muḥammad's commission with Prophet-hood.

And the first planet (or part), which consisted of twelve *burj* (or zodiacal constellations), dealt with the following topics :—

1. Tyranny and its remedy.
2. Justice, its nature and its administration.
3. Rights and duties of the ruler and how to fulfil them.
4. Militia.
5. Government and administration of the state.
6. Defence of the country and enforcement of law and order.
7. Advice and counsel to rulers, ministers and high officials.
8. *Tahaqquq* (?)
9. Penal Code.
10. Discretionary punishments.
11. War and international law, reading *siyar* and not *safar* as in the codex of the translation].
12. Public affairs (such as education, asylums, beggary, etc).

The original manuscript has not been edited. What we have before us is only a translation of it in Hindustani, along with an introduction giving an epitome of the work and biographical sketches of some of the 73 delegates who attended the Conference.

The compiler of this abridgment says : This is an abridgment of the work of Saiyid Abu'l-Fath alias Shaikh 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Baghdādīy called *Mukhtār al-Kawnain*. A body of Muslim savants of different countries collaborated in its compilation, and scrutinised and passed all that is contained in the work. As for the reason of its compilation, when 973 years had passed since the Hijrah, and the Islamic countries were filled with

tyranny of rulers and officials, and their insistence on tyranny and un-Islamic innovations were ruining the countries and demoralising the Muslims, and even refuge in non-Muslim countries by the sons of Islam was resorted to; and when tyranny and injustice were exceptionally rampant in Mecca, Medina, Yaman, Egypt, Syria, etc. and people began to emigrate and take refuge where they could, and a considerable number of savants settled in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina,—it was then that these savants and many of the local ulema met in conference. Saiyid Abū Fattāh [cf. above Abu'l-Fath] *alias* *Shaiikh* 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Baghḍādīy al-Mashriqīy was their leader. Some of those attending at the Conference had come to visit Medina after the ḥajj, others were those who had settled as refugees in that city.

Most of them were such as had travelled in many parts of the globe and knew Muslim as well as non-Muslim countries thoroughly. They conferred and set the task before them of finding means to relieve Muslims from the tyranny of rulers and to establish law and order and revive pure Islam. For that purpose, the Conference collected books like the *Sihāh sittah*, *Muḥit*, *Durar ma'din*, *Mashāriq*, *Baḥr al-aḥkām*, *Iḥyā' al-'ulūm* and many books on history and *siyar* (international law). Then they abstracted from them all that was necessary for the temporal and spiritual well-being of the rulers and the ruled. All the savants present agreed that the rulers should base their policy on "justice" and "enforcement of the Islamic principles of *sharī'ah*."...

The book deals with inter-Muslim wars, despotism and irresponsible government, corruption of officials and how to remedy it, popularising of education by making it free and wide-spread in every village and town, by creating subventions and bursaries, by imparting technical education and introducing industries prospering in foreign countries, and by encouraging commerce and agriculture. The rights of women were specially dealt with, and the Conference suggested that women judges should be appointed for women's

cases, except in cases of murder; that lady-doctors and nurses be appointed, and that divorce and dowries be regularised. After discussing secret police, etc., they say: 'There ought to be four grades of jails according to comfort: *A class* for remand and for those who are under investigation; *B class* for those punished on account of the violation of religious injunctions; *C class* for adulterers, thieves, those accused of accidental and unintentional homicide; and *D class* for murderers, highwaymen, apostates and those who have thrice been punished. After discussing the needs for sarais and guest-houses for foreign visitors and detailed discussion of river transit charges, and other topics, the Conference emphasises the need for the ulema to keep abreast of the times and understand present requirements, otherwise their orations and preachings would have no effect on the audience.

M. H.

THE TAZKIRA-E-BĒNAẒĪR (Persian), by Saiyid Abdul-Wahhāb Ifṭikhār, edited by S. Manzūr 'Alī, M.A., Publishers, Kitābistān, Allahabad; price: Rs. 2.

THE author, who settled at Daulatābad (Deccan), lived during the 12th Century Hijra, but the dates of his birth and death are not reliably known. He completed the above-named work in the year 1172 A.H., compiling notices of some 136 poets who lived during the last 72 years of his Century, giving excellent selections from their Persian poems. The book may be studied as a supplement to "*Sarv-i-Āzād*", by the author's master, Āzād Bilgrāmī, and, at any rate, helps to form a good idea as to that declining stage of Persian Poetry in India. The *Tazkirah* was so rare that only a single manuscript copy could be traced, and the Allahabad University deserves thanks for having it published as the First Volume of their Arabic-Persian Series.

S.

